



# CLONED!

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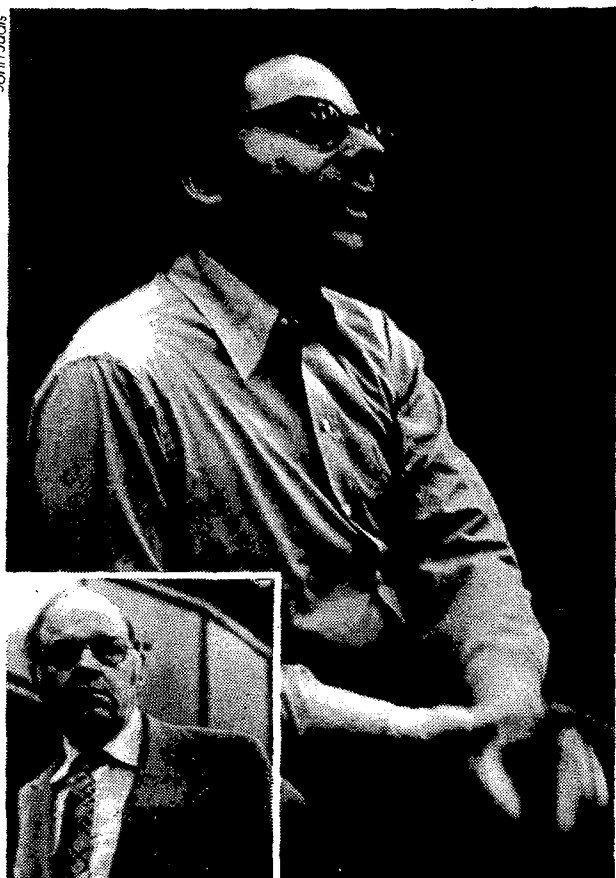
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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Marcus Raskin; inset: Ed Cogburn

## Turning left, with caution

If you still have faith in Jimmy,  
You're a junkie.  
If you still have hope,  
You're a dope.

—Mike Heichman, CPPAX position paper

No matter how you stir this stew, it is an expression of hostility toward the Carter administration... It is a gratuitous slap at this stage of the game.

—Ed Cogburn, Texas Democrats

There are signs that the Democratic party left, loosely and often tenuously united by liberal sentiment and anti-militarism, is coalescing around the issue of corporate power.

But because this is a country of disparate regions with differing political complexions, and because it is not merely a matter of ideological conversion, but of a strategic break with mainstream Democrats and a Democratic president, this process is proceeding haltingly, by fits and starts.

This was apparent as the New Democratic Coalition, one of the national organizations in which left Democrats participate, met in Washington April 1-2 to begin hammering out a new party platform and to consider challenging Carter in 1980.

### Peaks for McGovern.

NDC was formed in the wake of Eugene McCarthy's unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination in 1968. It was composed of groups that had sprung up to support McCarthy and Robert Kennedy and of older Democratic reform organizations like California's CDC, Massachusetts' MassPax, and New York's reform movement.

Like the Democratic party, NDC has remained a loose coalition of state and local organizations. Except at national election time, these organizations have had few ties to the national organization. NDC has no national dues, no national staff or office. Many members of the affiliated organizations, such as the 15,000-strong CDC or 8000-member Texas Democrats, do not even know that the NDC exists. Thus, while NDC claims as many as 75,000 members, its active membership is probably less than 1,000.

Most of this active membership is white middle class. It includes many state and county Democratic officials, Democratic National Committee members like Texas' Billie Carr and Massachusetts' Jerome Gross-

man, and Representatives John Conyers, Ron Dellums and Toby Moffett. Its labor membership is negligible.

As a national organization, NDC showed its potential in the Democratic primary of 1972, when it threw its professional expertise and local ties behind the anti-war candidacy of George McGovern. But since then, it has merely trudged along, without a unifying political focus or national leader.

In 1976, Marcus Raskin, antiwar leader and co-founder of Washington's Institute for Policy Studies, joined NDC in the hope of helping NDC realize its potential. Raskin was instrumental in drafting an NDC platform for the 1976 convention, but the Democratic National Committee hearings gave it a scant ten minutes.

Not to be discouraged, Raskin was back this year seeking to make NDC nothing less than the vehicle for an anti-corporate challenge to Carter in 1980. With the support of other NDC leaders, Raskin presented a three-part program for making NDC such a vehicle.

1) Circulate among the state organizations the draft of a 1980 platform on which NDC candidates, including a presidential candidate, would run and that would eventually furnish the binding principles for a transformed Democratic party.

2) Circulate a proposal for running a candidate against Carter in the 1980 primaries.

3) Establish NDC as a national organization with its own dues, periodical, staff and mailing list.

### Beyond cause groups.

This month's conference in Washington was NDC's first issues conference and its first national conference since 1972. In an opening speech Saturday morning, with some 140 delegates from 13 state organizations present, Raskin presented his approach.

According to Raskin, the Democratic left has largely been composed of "cause groups," such as the antiwar, civil rights, or ecology movements, that have arisen outside a Democratic party determined to ignore them. Without a party or political program to unite them, these groups have singlemindedly pursued their own causes.

Today, Raskin argued, these groups find themselves in a crisis, unable to accomplish their goals alone, but divided from other cause groups. What could unite them isn't being addressed either by them or the Democratic party.

This unity could only come through a transformed party whose program would include "broad basic principles" that would be "practiced and enforced." In his speech and in a draft of a proposed platform, Raskin laid out certain of these principles.

Chief among them was support for a "new economic system of 'economic democracy' in which 'control of capital would be transferred from private institutions to various forms of public control.'" Raskin traced America's ills to the "stranglehold of giant corporations over our present system." Raskin also argued for a redefinition of national security that would stress "defense of America, not control of the world."

A challenge to Carter, Raskin explained, is necessary because he has accepted a "frame of reference" that does not allow these issues to be raised, let alone to become a basis for action.

### No ideological criterion.

At the conference, there was considerable support for Raskin's anti-corporate, anti-expansionist views. The conference endorsed proposals coming from an energy workshop chaired by CDC's president Wallace Albertson that advocated public ownership of energy industry; the delegates also endorsed a proposal for socialized medicine.

New York City NDC member Fran Bennick, a state Democratic committeewoman who is running for Con-

gress this year against incumbent Joseph P. Addabbo, said she was ready to run on Raskin's platform. Representatives from CPPAX, the 2,000-member successor in Massachusetts to MassPax, introduced a resolution to accompany the call for a Carter challenge declaring that NDC "separates itself from" Carter's cold war foreign policies and anti-labor domestic policies.

But there was also disagreement with key aspects of Raskin's approach. While agreeing to "concrete cases" of the need for "economic democracy," such as utilities or railroads, several delegates balked at Raskin's call for public control of capital. "I don't think my chapter would accept the draft platform," Charles Halm of Maryland said. "It's too radical." Ed Cogburn, Secretary-Treasurer of the Texas Democrats and a vice-chair of NDC, expressed skepticism about economic democracy: In Texas, he said, "we're still fighting for political democracy."

But the most serious setback for Raskin's approach came when the proposals to challenge Carter and to "separate" NDC from his policies came up for a vote on Sunday afternoon.

### "Separate" vs. "criticize."

The proposal to recommend that state NDC groups begin discussing a challenge to Carter met with fierce resistance from the Texas and New York City NDC chapters, perhaps the strongest in the country with the most political experience.

New York City's chairman Jim Chapin branded the Raskin proposal "unrealistic." Ed Cogburn, speaking for Texas, was harsher. In Texas, Cogburn explained, it was the reactionary Democrats who were trying to get rid of Carter because of his stands on the Panama Canal, energy, South Africa, consumer protection, and Humphrey-Hawkins. "In my state, the best hope we have of rallying a progressive majority is by supporting Carter's progressive positions."

Raskin's proposal was tabled until NDC's September meeting.

On CPPAX's anti-Carter statement, a similar majority substituted the term "criticize" for "separate ourselves from." One Maryland delegate warned that NDC was in danger of repeating the error of leftists who "separated themselves from" Franklin Roosevelt in 1934.

Only the leadership's organizational proposals muddled through. Faced with the protests of state leaders who predicted a massive flight from NDC should national dues be charged, NDC executive secretary Roy Lieb proposed a \$15 national dues that would apply only to members recruited outside of the state organizations.

### A question mark.

By the meeting's end, Raskin had gone from shaking his head in disbelief to smiling patiently toward a better day. Some of his allies were less sanguine about the meeting's results. "Everybody's pissed off," Jerome Grossman said of the CPPAX representatives. He saw the meeting as characterized by "disorganization," "gamesmanship," and "irresponsible resolutions." He saw the defeat of the Carter challenge as a personal rebuke to Raskin. "Not backing up Marcus Raskin. That's shocking," Grossman said. "He's our guru."

Jim Chapin was predictably less unhappy about the meeting. However, his optimism about NDC's future seemed to derive from a less ambitious view of its role. "If there is something out there, we can reflect it," he said of NDC's role vis-a-vis Carter. "If there isn't, we can't. Right now, there is a question mark."

Philip Brenner, a political scientist at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, and co-author of NDC's 1976 platform, provided invaluable background, analysis, and interviews for this article.

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By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**W**E DON'T NEED A SPORTS stadium. We need a hospital—right now—a hospital where working people can go when the money is low. We need jobs and more jobs, and they cut out jobs. We need doctors and more doctors, and they cut out doctors. You hear about human rights. We need the right to medical attention."

Rev. Calvin H. Turner, in clerical collar and snappy white suit, amplified the sentiments of the several hundred marchers behind him as they walked the two miles from Cook County Hospital on the near west side of Chicago to the complex of state, city and county buildings in the Loop. Doctors, nurses and assorted political activists joined with the sometime patients from predominantly black and Latino neighborhoods of the city who depend on—and trust—the medical care from this city's only public hospital.

They were protesting cutbacks that the hospital's governing commission was planning in the wake of the Cook County Board of Commissioners' failure to approve the full amount of money proposed in the hospital's new budget. Beyond that, they were fighting against what has now become the perennial specter of a shutdown that haunts Cook County hospital.

The occasional, indirect hints that various politicians and private hospital interests would like to close "County" take on extra substance in light of the assault that has taken place on public hospitals across the country during the 1970s.

#### Squeeze on public hospitals.

Public hospitals have been shut down in California, New York City and Philadelphia. Others are threatened with extinction in Washington, D.C., Boston, New York, New Orleans and Detroit. In many cities public hospitals are being turned over to universities or independent agencies, such as "public benefit corporations." Often they lose many of the traditional virtues of the public hospitals in the process and become replicas of proprietary (profit-making) or private voluntary hospitals, where the "medically indigent" have always been neglected or turned away.

Financially squeezed because of recession, a declining tax base, high interest costs and other drains on the public revenue, and unwilling to increase taxes further, many cities are trying to reduce or completely dump the burden of providing hospital and outpatient care for the very poor and for those working class families without insurance.

Directors of private hospitals have frequently been champions of such municipal shutdowns for their own selfish reasons. During the past decades private hospitals expanded their supply of beds rapidly as each hospital competed to establish its own prestigious empire that could employ the latest technology and attract the elite doctors. At the same time, changing medical practice and rising costs reduced the number of admissions necessary in many cases and shortened the average length of stay in the hospital. This made the hospital bed surplus even more acute. Hospitals needed patients to fill the beds in order to cover the growing costs of maintaining a full staff and the expensive equipment.

They, of course, wanted only paying patients. Medicaid and Medicare, from 1966 on, offered new clients and money. According to Columbia University School of Public Health faculty members Samuel Wolfe and Hila Richardson Sherer, "part of the demand [by powerful economic interest groups] to reduce, dismantle, or take over the public general hospital sector is in preparation for the reality of National Health Insurance. This would turn further billions of public dollars over to private hands, a situation for which we are already paying dearly."

Voluntary hospital representatives claim that poor people with Medicaid or the elderly with Medicare automatically choose private rather than public hospi-

# 'County' patients fight for hospital against cutbacks



## Public hospitals are caught between pinchpenny state and city officials and private hospital empires.

itals. They point to the more rapidly dropping occupancy rate of public hospitals. But Wolfe and Sherer argue that the slightly faster drop in occupancy for public hospitals is misleading: public hospitals have been admitting patients at a rate higher than the voluntaries, but the length of stay has also dropped more rapidly.

Public hospitals' outpatient clinics Wolfe and Sherer argue, serve as a regular doctor's office for proportionately more people than private hospitals. Also, "the public hospitals are serving a population unlikely to be served by the private sector." In addition, such hospitals are often extremely important employers in otherwise depressed central city neighborhoods.

#### Cost but no patronage.

The national picture basically holds for Cook County Hospital, once a huge warehouse of over 4,000 hospital beds and a source of valuable patronage jobs for the Chicago democratic machine. Now County is down to around 1,200 beds, and for the past nine years it has been controlled by a governing commission, rather than the county board of commissioners, although the budget still must be approved as a whole by the county. Thus the county politicians have the unwelcome

responsibility of raising taxes to meet increasing expenses of paying for patients without insurance or Medicaid/Medicare (about 16 percent of the total, costing the county around \$27 million a year). Yet they no longer have the patronage jobs to hand out.

Enter the state government, one of the several villains. For years the state department of public aid, which picks up half the Medicaid tab for County Hospital (a total of \$45 million last year), has been extremely slow in paying hospital claims. That makes finances precarious and adds interest costs for money borrowed to tide over the hospital.

In 1975 the state took over from the county the responsibility for determining which patients were eligible for Medicaid payments. Both tightfisted Democratic Gov. Dan Walker and Republican presidential aspirant James Thompson, now in the statehouse, have been at odds with Chicago Democrats and have also tried to keep down taxes even if that meant gutting social programs. Although claims are now processed a bit faster, there are still around 9,000 back claims, figured at an average of \$2,500. The state has also tightened its enforcement of eligibility requirements. According to various sources, the percentage of applications

for Medicaid approved has dropped from over 60 percent to around 20 percent.

"In any given program you can have eligibility from 0 to 100 percent," Dr. Quentin Young, chairman of the department of medicine, explains. "You can make the requirement raising your hand and cover everybody except those with no arms, or else you can have everyone bring in their grandmother's birth certificate and no one gets it." The state has recently become a "harsh gatekeeper" on Medicaid claims, even though the hospital has already provided the service to people and only a tiny fraction of the claims are rejected because the patient's income was found to be too high to qualify.

#### Administrative feud.

County's financial problems have also been worsened, critics maintain, by poor administration under flamboyant Dr. James Haughton, who has progressively lost much of his once strong support in the black community. By simply billing third-party insurers and the government in a different fashion for kidney dialysis patients and for outpatients, for example, the hospital could have quite legally taken in many million dollars more over the past couple of years.

Cook County Board president George Dunne, head of the Democratic party, has increasingly made it clear that he doesn't like Haughton and wants to get rid of him. When Haughton presented a \$195 million budget for fiscal year 1978, the County Board allocated only \$177 million, a 4 percent increase over the present budget. Haughton immediately announced drastic cutbacks, which provoked an angry reaction from the politically active House Staff Association, community residents dependent on County, and a broad citizens' group, the Committee to Save Cook County Hospital.

After the protests, the threatened shutdown of one 240-bed building was dropped but Haughton announced that the hospital at the county jail would be closed, the remaining shreds of the psychiatric unit ended, kidney dialysis transferred to a private clinic, fewer free prescriptions given out, 570 workers—including most maintenance tradesmen—laid off and other programs cut back. A temporary restraining order delayed closing the jail hospital, but the other cuts have proceeded.

Defenders of County hospital argue that the cuts could be reversed if the County Board would authorize the full, legal limit of property tax for the hospital, collect \$2.5 million from the Department of Corrections budget for the jail hospital, force the state to assume its legal responsibility for care of the mentally ill, demand that the state pay Medicaid for jail patients incarcerated less than 30 days, and pressure Gov. Thompson to streamline certification to make sure that all eligible people are covered by Medicaid. But Dunne's feud with Haughton, not to mention the antagonism of the city Democrats and the Republican governor, hampers any action.

County hospital has moved dramatically in recent years away from long-term hospitalization toward what is termed "primary" medical care, particularly in its expanding clinic system. Although some private hospitals, themselves cutting back on outpatient service, want to close County and pick up its patients, a few other hospitals in poor, black areas want County to stay open because they don't want the patients. Like other public hospitals, County has among its many functions served as "the wastebasket for poor people, dirty people, people with chronic diseases, VD patients, alcoholics, losers," Young says. "The private sector won't absorb those difficult cases, but they'll just disappear into the woodwork."

Continuing political pressure may save Chicago's only public hospital once again but the forces of fiscal squeeze and private hospital predation will continue to threaten Cook County and other public hospitals until the country has a radically reorganized, publicly financed system of health care. As Young says, "Only a socialized system that puts emphasis on prevention and maintenance of health will work."



## IN THE NATION

## THE MILITARY

## Experiments tie jobs to military

Whether it's through the Job Corps or the National Guard, the idea is to tie social mobility to the military.

By Randall Risener

**A**S THE VIETNAM WAR RAPIDLY becomes words and pictures on pages of history texts, use of the armed forces as a vehicle for upward mobility among American youth appears to be coming into vogue with a number of politicians.

California's Gov. Edmund G. Brown has decreed the military a viable means of providing job training for hardcore unemployed inner-city youth and Department of Labor Secretary Ray Marshall has found a way to tie his agency's Job Corps into the Defense department's recruitment program.

The joint Labor-Defense effort is predicated on the feeling that too many military recruits are not academically qualified—it will be the Job Corps' function to help alleviate this dilemma.

Traditionally, the Job Corps has given its enrollees—between the ages of 16 and 22—a mix of job training, recreation and education in a somewhat "structured" atmosphere at centers located in various cities and national parks. Most of the program's participants are "hardcore" unemployed youth from the inner cities.

Under the Labor-Defense agreement a "military component preparation" section will be activated at Job Corps sites. The "preparation" course will be voluntary and no one who takes it is required to enlist in the armed forces. No military drill or military science will be given.

Using the Job Corps' regular recruitment program to supply most of the participants, the Labor department hopes to place close to 6,000 youths per year in its military component.

For its part, the Defense department, which is experiencing problems in recruiting "qualified" applicants, will send to the Labor department the names of those who, for academic reasons, fail to pass the armed forces entrance examinations so they can be encouraged to take advantage of the Job Corps' military component.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Charles W. Duncan explained his agency's interest in the program, saying that "young people who complete the military preparation program...will experience lower attrition in the military than comparable young people who have not had the Job Corps training."

For the Labor department the program means more facilities—paid for by the Department of Defense—and job placements for more of its trainees.

While the Job Corps will be primarily in the business of academically preparing its students for military service, Brown's National Guard program is a complicated scheme aimed at beefing up the State Guard and providing a job training model with a potential political payoff.

Officially known as the Oakland Guard—because it is presently being tested in Oakland—the Brown idea is simplistic in philosophy, yet convoluted in practice.

Candidates will be recruited through the state's Employment Development Department offices and CETA-funded community organizations. The recruits

must qualify for CETA training and be able to pass the Armed Forces Qualification Test and a physical examination.

Because of the high "wash-out" rate presently endured by the military during training, Guard recruits will go through a 35 to 40 day "pre-basic" program to prepare them for regular training, which will be conducted at U.S. Army installations.

The new guardsmen will return to Oakland, form a National Guard unit—incurring the normal six year military obligation—and be placed in private-sector jobs fitting their military skills, which the EDD offices will work at finding.

The program faces two fundamental obstacles—recruitment and job placement. For both the Brown administration is preparing contingencies.

Under consideration, say Brown administration sources, is a recruitment tool—should it be needed—that would involve creating "some sort of veterans' benefits along the lines of the GI Bill." (This idea is a bit ironic in that Brown, two years ago, killed California's educational assistance program for Vietnam veterans.)

The sources emphasize, however, that educational benefits are simply one idea under consideration and would probably not be implemented unless it appears that even the minimal goal of 20 Guard enlistments that Brown has targeted for the first year is unattainable.

Brown has enticed business into supporting the experiment with promises of money and the lure of a disciplined workforce.

For every "100-man" unit established, he points out, more than \$215,000 would be poured back into the community through salaries, rents and other spending on the part of the Guard members.

Gwendolyn Davis, a consultant for EDD, adds that employers also find "the discipline which the Guard instills to be the most important selling point."

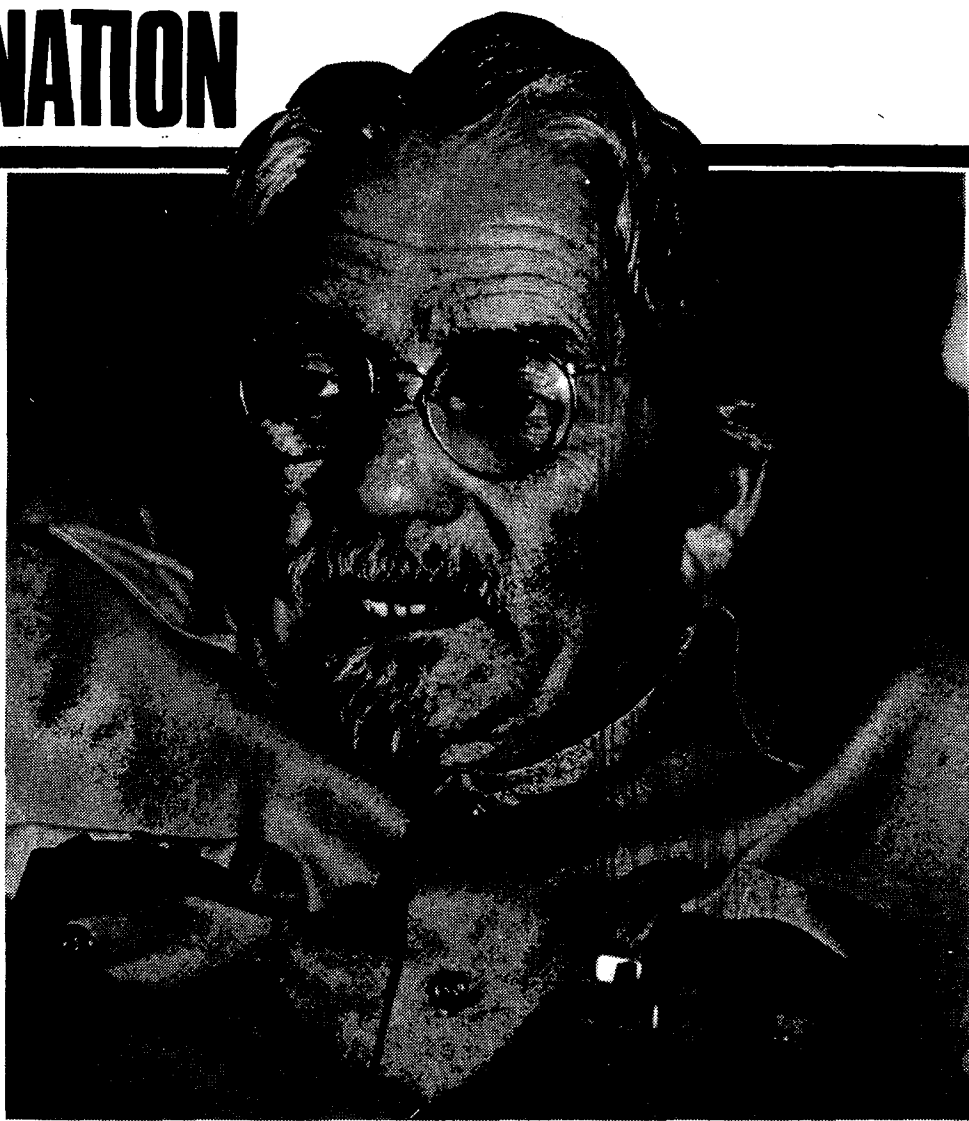
A number of observers question the Guard project. Even if the Guard were to recruit, train and place 200 or more unemployed in jobs, they argue, this would not dent Oakland's unemployment statistics. Politics, they say, is behind the project.

Brown, who is running for re-election and challenging Jimmy Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination at the same time, is well aware of the public's thirst for fresh, innovative concepts that promise a relief for social ills. Although news of the Guard project was leaked as early as June of last year, Brown made the formal announcement last October. As promoted it is a one-year pilot program, the results of which—if successful—will be touted in October of this year, only days before the November election.

If the experiment works in Oakland, Brown intends to take it to Los Angeles, San Diego and other cities burdened by high unemployment.

Martin Glick, the state's director of economic development, also says that the Oakland Guard might be a "model for a national program involving the regular army."

**Randall Risener is a writer in San Francisco.**



Frank Giese is fighting for his freedom.

Marcus Swanson

## JUSTICE

## Portland activist appeals conviction

By Lee Penn

PORTLAND, ORE.

**I**F A RECENT DECISION BY A FEDERAL appeals court in San Francisco stands, the books you read could help send you to jail. The case in question involves Frank Giese, 61, a former professor of French at Portland State University, who was convicted in 1974 of conspiracy "to commit offenses against the United States."

Giese, a long-time political activist, was accused of recruiting, leading and financing a small group of terrorists, most of whom he had met in 1972 as a volunteer counselor at the Oregon State Correctional Institution. He was also charged with bombing a Portland military recruitment center Jan. 4, 1973, at the end of Nixon's Christmas bombing of North Vietnam.

The jury found Giese innocent of the bombing, but convicted him of conspiracy. Giese was given the maximum penalty, five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. He remains free on appeal under \$75,000 bond.

The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Giese's conviction by a 2-1 vote. He is now seeking a rehearing by the full appeals court, and plans to go to the Supreme Court if necessary.

During the trial, the prosecution forced Giese to read violent rhetoric in *From the Movement Toward Revolution*, a documentary history of the New Left published by Litton Industries. These passages had Giese's fingerprints on them, those of three admitted participants in the violence and 190 unidentified fingerprints.

Two appeals judges said the book was relevant, showing Giese's link to the bombers, his "knowledge of violent revolutionary methods" and his intent to commit violence. Dissenting Judge Shirley Hufstедler replied, "Even during the evil thralldom of McCarthyism, we did not embrace the concept of guilt by book association."

Hufstедler also found that Giese was denied a fair trial due to "prosecutorial misconduct." The other two appeals judges acknowledged the abuses but considered them unimportant. In his final

argument, the prosecutor had invoked his own and the government's credibility to bolster the jury's faith in prosecution witnesses.

These witnesses needed all the help they got—especially Lynn Meyer and Robert McSherry, whose testimony the prosecution and the appeals court acknowledged was essential to Giese's conviction.

Lynn Meyer, an ex-convict with a long history of arrests and mental illnesses, implicated Giese in the conspiracy during the trial. Then, in July 1975, Meyer wrote the trial judge, saying that he had falsely testified against Giese and that Giese had done everything he could to stop the bombers.

Giese will cite this recantation in a petition for a new trial if he loses his appeal. The appeals court cannot consider the Meyer letter, since it was new evidence arising after the original trial.

Robert McSherry did not link Giese to the bombing until after he had been in jail for four months. When he changed his testimony, his bail was reduced from \$100,000 to \$1,000 and he received probation for robbery, conspiracy and bombing convictions.

The trials have taken a heavy toll on Giese. The calm, soft-spoken teacher was fired from his tenured post in early 1975 and has been jobless since. Thousands of dollars in legal costs have depleted his once-comfortable savings.

Despite the legal pressure Giese continues the political activity he began in 1948, when he worked for Henry Wallace in the Progressive party. Giese was active in the peace and civil rights movements in Boston and Portland in the '60s. In 1971 he established the independent left United Front Bookstore, which is collectively run and is the only such store in Portland. Recently, he has been active in the anti-imperialist Liberation Support Movement.

Defense money and expressions of support can be sent to the Frank Giese Support Committee for Constitutional Rights, c/o United Front Bookstore, 2701 S.E. Belmont, Portland, OR 97214.

**Lee Penn is a free-lance writer in Portland, Ore.**



## LABOR

# Labor center stirs N.C. fight

By Frank Adams

**N**ORTH CAROLINA'S INDUSTRIAL barons, with a lot of help from allies in some of the state's colleges and universities, have been working feverishly this year to maintain their historic control over the state's low-paid, mostly unorganized labor force.

The J.F. Stevens Co.'s resistance, which deservedly continues to capture national attention and organizing energy, is only the tip of an anti-union iceberg. At least two anti-union seminars for management were held in the state in February. Simultaneously, furniture and textile manufacturers were attempting to slap down a proposed Labor Education Center.

Wake Forest University ran a seminar on "Management Techniques for Non-Union Companies" Feb. 9-10 at the Sheraton Center Inn in Charlotte. Eighteen businessmen, mostly furniture manufacturers from Catawba County, attended. They paid \$330 to hear Robert Valois, a lawyer who is employed by the anti-union

workers at J.P. Stevens in Roanoke Rapids, and Woodruff "Woodie" Imberman, a labor-relations consultant from Chicago, talk about labor law, management techniques to keep unions out, pro-company strategy during an election campaign and dirty tricks.

## While state tax dollars go easily for anti-union seminars, intense controversy surrounds a proposed labor center.

Later in the month the University of North Carolina's School of Business at Chapel Hill held the second annual Graphics Management Institute under the sponsorship of the Dillard Paper Company and PICA (the Printing Industry of the Carolinas, Inc.) Foundation. When he issued invitations to the seminar, PICA president W.P. Andrews Jr. told members, "This program has been especially designed to help you react and cope with the proposed new labor reform laws."

Andrews described the pending legisla-

tion, Senate Bill 1883 in particular, as "compulsory, one-sided, unfair pro-union legislation." While, he added, he feared some part of the bill would pass, he and other PICA members "have taken the lead in contacting North and South Carolina senators in opposition."

A much bigger controversy centered on efforts to kill a Labor Education Center to be located at predominately black North Carolina Central University in Durham. Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. has set aside a \$90,000 federal CETA grant to start it up. This outraged the state's anti-union biggies.

Harley F. Shuford Jr., a Hickory furniture manufacturer and member of the University of North Carolina Board of Governors, which controls the 16 campus system of state-supported higher ed-

ucation, said: "I am opposed to this labor center because I think it would strengthen the cause of organized labor in North Carolina... I feel organized labor is detrimental to both the quality of life and economic development in our state." One of Shuford's buddies, State Senator T. Cass Ballenger, a Republican who runs a paper box manufacturing firm in Hickory, told the press: "It kind of bugged me, the idea of using taxpayers' money to discriminate against business."

## State already supports business.

Neither Shuford nor Ballenger were asked by reporters about the use of tax dollars to support anti-union seminars at Chapel Hill and elsewhere. But state AFL-CIO president Wilbur Hobby noticed the contradiction. In an interview, Hobby, who had originally asked Hunt to start the center, said, "We spend \$1,850,000 on the UNC Business School and \$823,000 on the industrial extension courses at N.C. State aimed at business. The Department of Administration publishes a book, *Ser-*

*Continued on page 8.*

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

# Examining the American record on human rights

By Liz Price

**I**N MARCH OF 1977 JIMMY CARTER announced in an address to the UN that he intended to put human rights concerns at the center of American foreign policy. "We are determined therefore to deal with our deficiencies quickly and efficiently," he said in reference to possible violations in this country.

One year later, March 23-25, Antioch College Community Government, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, sponsored a conference to evaluate the progress of the commitment and the status of human rights in the U.S., "The Nation takes a look at human rights, we take a look at the nation."

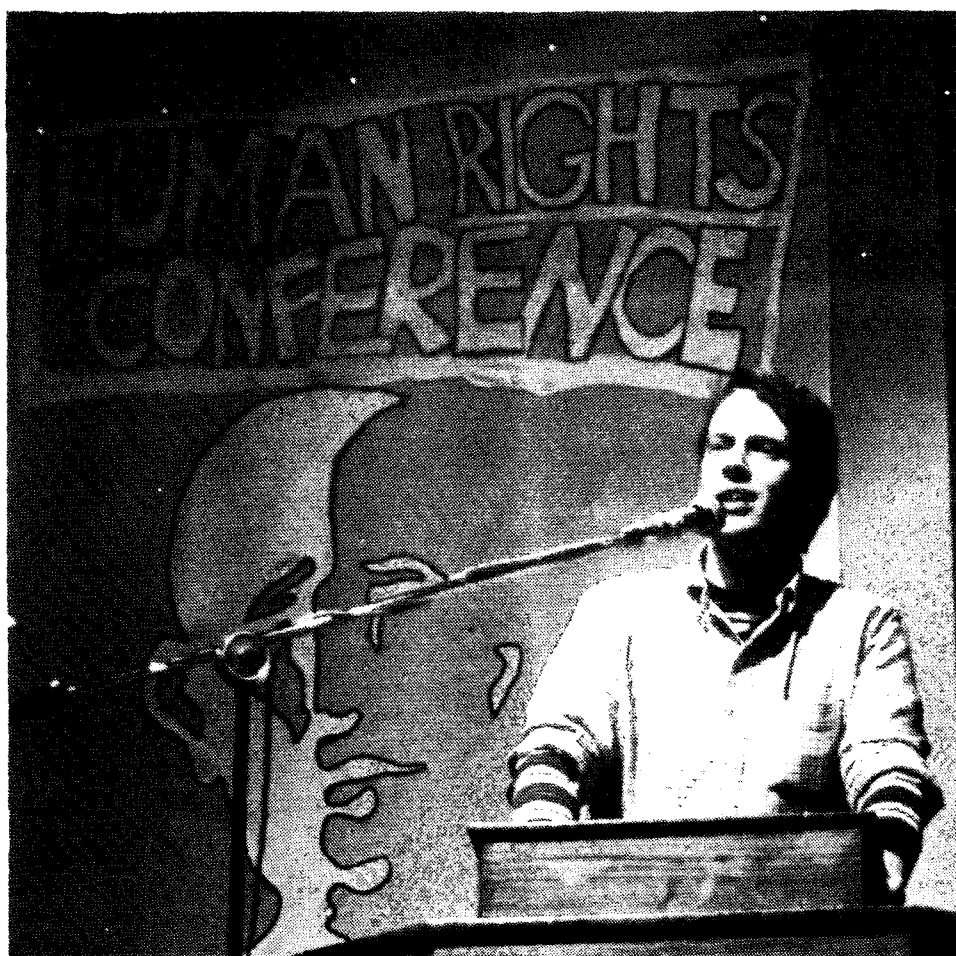
The conference was divided into three components, one each day. On the first day historical perspective on human rights and current violations were reviewed. On the second, a declaration of basic human rights was shaped. And the last day examined the law and various organizing efforts.

The conference was preceeded by a benefit concert with Pete Seeger and Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick in Dayton. Conceived as a major source of income for the conference, the concert's light attendance spelled financial trouble later.

An estimated 300 to 350 people attended the conference, including participants from a wide range of political organizations. Speakers included Dave Dellinger, an editor of *Seven Days*; Dr. Linda Murray of Cook County Hospital in Chicago; Rick Kunnes of the New American Movement; Claude Lightfoot, field secretary of the Communist party; Sam Lovejoy of the Clamshell Alliance; Jean O'Leary of the National Gay Task Force and Paul Smith of the American Indian Treaty Council.

Even with such a wide representation of political viewpoints, the conference went relatively smoothly from one issue to another. Conflicts did arise over such issues as whose oppression was older, more politically significant, more severe.

Bernard Lafayette, director of the National Institute of Campus Ministries in St. Louis, for instance, stirred the debate when he said, "There are many groups that feel their oppression is greater than anybody else's oppression. I happen to believe that our identity must transcend an ethnic culture if we are in fact going to experience liberation as a people. We cannot experience freedom until all others are free. I want the folks to remember that they cannot be free until blacks are free.



Sam Lovejoy of the Clamshell Alliance (above) addressing the Antioch human rights conference, "The nation takes a look at human rights, we take a look at the nation."

"I am saying that racism kills," he continued. "No ticky tacky stuff; racism kills. It's lethal and permits children to die in the slums."

Jean O'Leary responded later that "sexism kills." This prompted a debate between Lafayette, O'Leary and members of the audience over whether one group could make their individual issue more significant than another's.

Such debates brought out the political differences of the participants, but more often there was agreement on the problems that needed to be considered during the conference. One of these was the government's treatment of Indians, blacks and other minorities.

Andy Young and Jimmy Carter, said Paul Smith, "talk about how bad South Africa is. The government in South Africa then comes back with the statement, 'why don't you ask President Carter about the Indian reservations?'"

"Internationally," Smith continued, "the situation of the Indians is well known. In South Africa it is not very different. The South African government uses as models for the Bantustans Ameri-

can Indian reservations."

Smith argued that the treatment of the Indians amounted to genocide. He read parts of the 1948 Genocide Commission report, which defined several components of genocide against a people, including the systematic killing of members of a group, deliberately inflicting on the group its physical destruction or bodily harm, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and forcibly transferring children of the group. "All this," said Smith, "applies to the American Indian."

Later in the conference, Dr. Linda Murray in her speech on health care in the U.S. continued the discussion of genocide: "The life expectancy for white males in the U.S. is 65, all other males 53, for white females it is 74, for non-whites it is 62. That is called genocide."

The conference organizers had hoped to bring people together and unite them on the common issue of human rights. The fragility of that togetherness became apparent when conflict arose among conference participants over the role of the Communist party at the conference, and

particularly over Claude Lightfoot's keynote address, "Historical Perspectives/Current Violations."

As the participants were showing signs of exhaustion on the third day, Marc Masurovsky of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington, D.C., brought up the controversial Nazi march in Skokie, Ill., in an "open mike period."

The ensuing debate brought new life to the conference, with the participants as divided on the issue as the ACLU.

Mary Kaufman, a lawyer and one-time Nuremberg prosecutor, said, "This issue is clearly defined by the UN Declaration of Human Rights. The advocacy of genocide is not a right protected by international consensus. When we are talking about the right of the Nazi's to march, we are talking about the right of a hate group to march."

A member of the audience responded, "to not allow the Nazis to march would be handing them the victory they are looking for."

"I cannot endorse," said Claude Lightfoot, "the abstract concept that someone has the freedom to call for my extermination."

Despite the conflict over Skokie, squabbling over whose oppression was more important, and suspicion that the Communist party was trying to take over the conference, there seemed to be general agreement that the existence of monopoly capitalism was a primary reason the U.S. cannot come to terms with its own human rights violations.

Jose Lopez, assistant professor of history at Northeastern Illinois University—just released from being jailed for refusing to testify before a grand jury about the Puerto Rico independence movement—expressed the consensus when he told the group, "We have to call what we are talking about by its right name, monopoly capitalism and imperialism. We cannot talk about the black question unless we talk about monopoly capital and imperialism. Or the Native American movement. We cannot talk about any question unless we talk about monopoly capital."

Conference planners were generally pleased with the outcome of the conference. According to Ron Williams, one of the conference organizers, "We have taken an important step in creating a dialogue and therefore bringing the issue of human rights home. Now it is up to the individuals in their own organizations to continue the dialogue and to take more concrete steps."



## LEGISLATION

# Action on privacy bills soon

By Evan Hendricks

WASHINGTON

**T**HE EXPERIENCES OF A FORMER Washington reporter with the investigatory methods of a credit reporting agency explain why the protection of individual privacy rights is emerging as a hot and popular issue on Capitol Hill.

In 1971 Jim Millstone, now assistant managing editor of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, was told that Fireman's Fund was cancelling his automobile insurance policy on the basis of information turned up in an "inspection report."

At the time Millstone was more amused than angered. He had just nailed down the highly coveted news editor position at the *Post Dispatch*, largely due to his reputable performance as a Washington reporter in preceding years. What damaging information could possibly be contained in his credit files?

His amusement was transformed into shock and outrage when the credit agency told him that its report indicated he was a "bearded hippy who housed anti-war demonstrators and used drugs."

Millstone and his insurance agent immediately convinced Fireman's Fund that the report was inaccurate and persuaded the company to reverse its decision to cancel the policy. Millstone wasn't satisfied: he proceeded to sue O'Hanlon Reports Inc., the agency that compiled the report, to discover what other falsities it may have included.

The ensuing litigation revealed that the report's allegations were attributed to a senile neighbor who had passed away before the trial began. In addition to lying about his private living habits, the neighbor said that Millstone had been evicted from his previous three residences. The "investigator" who interviewed the neighbor was only a part-time employee who had failed to substantiate these assertions with further evidence.

In 1976—five years after the original trial began—Millstone was awarded \$41,500 in damages and attorney's fees.

Looking back on the incident, Millstone said, "I never expected to get any money out of this, but I felt that a principle needed to be established under the Fair Credit Reporting Act (FCRA) that people are not at the mercy of idiotic investigations conducted by credit reporting agencies. After all, you never know what information is in the files and what might eventually surface to damage you."

## Weakness of legislation.

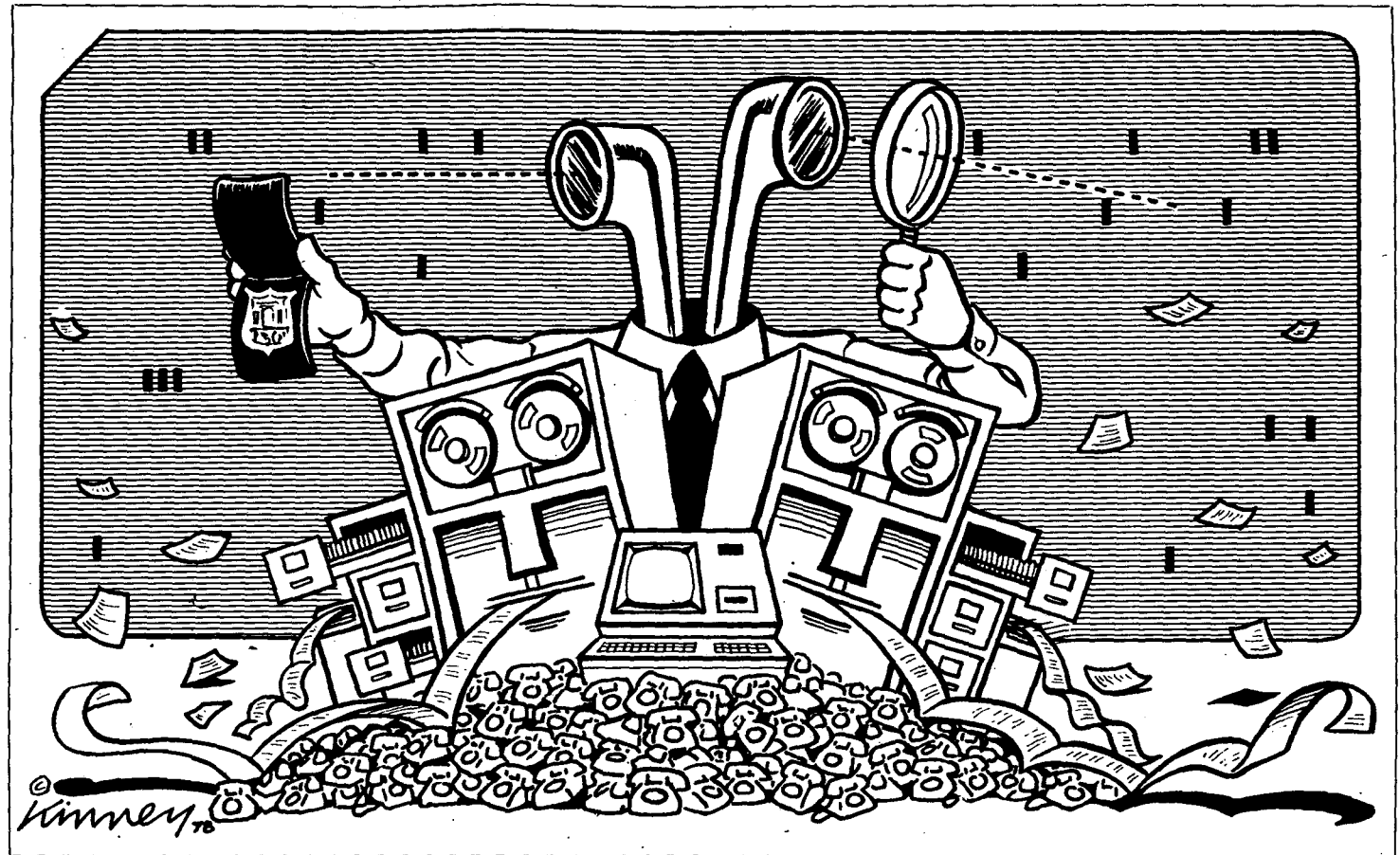
The Millstone case demonstrates the weaknesses of the FCRA in protecting against invasions of privacy and unfair information practices.

Considering that a Commerce department study based on 1967 figures found that the "information industry" accounts for 46 percent of the American workforce and almost half of the gross national product, the task of balancing an individual's privacy interests against the society's informational needs is a very complicated one indeed.

However, congressional observers say that within the next three years a number of privacy protection laws will be enacted establishing a statutory due process for consumers who want to control what information is contained in the personal files and data bases controlled by large corporations.

An estimated 83 bills dealing with some aspect of privacy are pending before 14 congressional subcommittees. Hearings and mark-up sessions are expected soon in such areas as medical, financial, telephone and income tax records. Consideration of legislation to protect the confidentiality of employee records should begin next year.

Other privacy bills that are progressing through the obstacle course on Capitol Hill concern the use of polygraph tests for employment purposes, restrictions



Under consideration are bills to establish a process by which consumers can ensure accuracy of their records.

on the intelligence community's authority to wire tap and the privacy rights of rape victims.

## Privacy Act of 1974.

The most recent reference point for privacy legislation is the Privacy Act of 1974. The Act does not define an individual's right to privacy or attempt to legislate the "right to be let alone." Rather, it establishes a "code of fair information practices" for federal record systems based on the following provisions:

- Federal agencies must publish notice in the *Federal Record* of all systems of records that they maintain;
- Individuals can gain access to and correct records containing personal information controlled by a federal agency;
- Individuals are authorized to limit disclosure of such information to third parties;
- No agency can maintain a record describing how an individual exercises rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

When the Privacy Act was under consideration many members of Congress insisted that its provisions cover corporate records. Others, however, argued that not enough was known about businesses' record-keeping practices and that the problems involved were too complex to remedy in one piece of legislation. As a compromise it was decided that private sector records would be exempted but that it was necessary to research potential privacy threats posed by corporate information practices.

A Privacy Protection Study Commission was created to study the problem. Operating with a staff of over 100 consultants, which included many civil libertarians, the commission heard testimony from approximately 350 witnesses, and presented its final report to President Carter and Congress on July 12, 1977.

The commission concluded that a plethora of legislation was needed to "strike the proper balance between the individual's personal privacy interests and society's informational needs."

Most of the recommendations involve mandatory compliance for private and public sector organizations based on the provisions of the Privacy Act. (However, the commission suggested that business be given a chance to comply voluntarily in the personnel records area.) It also recommended amending the Privacy Act to more severely restrict the intragovernmental flow of information, and called

for a tightening of exceptions to the Acts provisions.

On July 13, 1977, commission members [former] Rep. Edward Koch (D-NY) and Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr. (R-CA) introduced a package of 13 bills that translated the recommendations into legislation.

## Executive action.

The commission's influence is not restricted to Congress.

On the same day that the Koch-Goldwater package was introduced, President Carter ordered all federal agencies to submit their initial reactions to the report within 40 days. In September the White House Domestic Policy Staff organized a review system to elicit the participation of all agencies in the formulation of a presidential privacy policy.

The DPS divided the Commission's work into six informational categories and designated "lead agencies" to compile other agencies' reactions according to their jurisdictions. The lead agencies and the DPS will soon form an inter-agency task force that will submit its final report to Carter by May 31.

Because the executive branch reports are still in the development stage it is difficult to predict their precise reactions to the commission's recommendations. Although various officials who are in charge of their agency's report say that they agree with the principles espoused by the commission, it seems likely that many will push for a continuation of present exceptions.

In the meantime the Justice department has asked most of the congressional subcommittees to postpone hearings on privacy legislation until the executive branch study is completed. Most have agreed, but the Financial Institutions subcommittee of the House Banking and Urban Affairs has stubbornly progressed towards mark-up of the Right to Financial Privacy Act, otherwise known as Title XI of the Safe Banking Act (H.R. 9600).

## Corporate concern

The corporate community is also beginning its preparation for coming legislative battles over privacy issues. Advanced Management Research, an organization that profits off of "educating corporate managers," recently conducted a three-day conference in Washington entitled "Preserving Management Prerogatives in Privacy Legislation."

Over 150 corporate executives representing such companies as IBM, Atlantic Richfield, Montgomery Ward and Chase Manhattan Bank, paid \$495 each to hear Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-ME) Rep. Goldwater and an impressive array of government and business leaders address the privacy issue.

"Concern for privacy is a good business practice," Goldwater said, "and just as marketing and employee problems are now discussed in corporate board rooms, so should privacy be elevated to this status."

Goldwater said that he believes that the private sector can comply with fair information standards voluntarily but if it doesn't, Congress will have to enact further legislation.

Recognizing the efforts of some businesses to insure the confidentiality of their records on employees and customers, Muskie warned, "Nevertheless, just as Congress does not provide for over-regulation because of the flagrant abuse of a few, these outstanding examples in the private sector do not negate the need for legislative remedies altogether."

Some corporate representatives grumbled at such warnings but many later admitted that more attention should be devoted to the potential threats to privacy posed by the companies' systems of records.

Businessmen expressed concern about the cost of complying with future privacy laws. They also were not happy to learn that federal privacy laws are preempted by state laws that more strictly regulate information practices.

Conference speakers had no easy answers for these and other problems but many of them attempted to convince the audience that business would experience many "social benefits" by complying with fair information standards.

Because privacy legislation is becoming a popular rallying point for politicians of many different political persuasions, business will not likely risk credibility by adamantly opposing its enactment. However, corporate lobbyists will attempt to have the legislation modified so the cost of compliance would be shifted to the federal government. They also want to reverse the current situation that allows more stringent state privacy laws to pre-empt federal laws.

Evan Hendricks writes for *Access Reports*, a Washington-based newsletter in *Freedom of Information and Privacy*.



## CITIES

## Johnstown's down, but not out

By Jack Metzgar

JOHNSTOWN, PA.

**I**F I WERE YOUR AGE, EDDIE, I'd be on a plane for Texas," Eddie Pacholski turned white and giggled. He looked like he was going to be sick.

A former office worker at Johnstown Plant, Bethlehem Steel Corp., Eddie has been out of work for almost a year. With unemployment compensation and supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) his income has not been significantly less than before. But his future—like everyone's in this town—is uncertain. His layoff has snowballed into a permanent condition because of a flood last July and the international crisis in the steel industry.

Eddie sits at his brother's house for the annual "birthdays party." His own house is a couple blocks away. His wife's parents live within walking distance. He and his brother, a steelworker at a small fabricating plant who doesn't expect his job to last through the spring, grew up in this neighborhood near U.S. Steel's Johnstown Works. It's a relatively clean part of town. (The JSS plant is mainly a fabricating mill) with mostly single-family homes. Though it is muddy and rather beat up in the aftermath of the flood, it's still basically a good place to live and to raise children.

Eddie doesn't want to move his family to Burns Harbor, Indiana, where Bethlehem would be willing to employ him. He hadn't thought of going to Texas or Arizona. The idea does not seem to appeal to him. But his "comp" runs out in a couple months and he probably never will be back to work. Unemployment in Johnstown is officially 13 percent, and though the new year began with brave words from city officials, the long-run prospect is that it will get progressively worse.

It's so easy how quickly things change. When 1977 began things were looking up. Johnstown had been a depressed town for a long time—for more than four decades, not counting the war years. But it had seemed that it was finally turning the corner.

In 1973 it was selected an All-American City for its efforts at redevelopment in the '50s and '60s. Then Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. located a major office complex here, creating thousands of jobs and sending property values soaring.

But last summer's one-two punch may yet knock the town out.

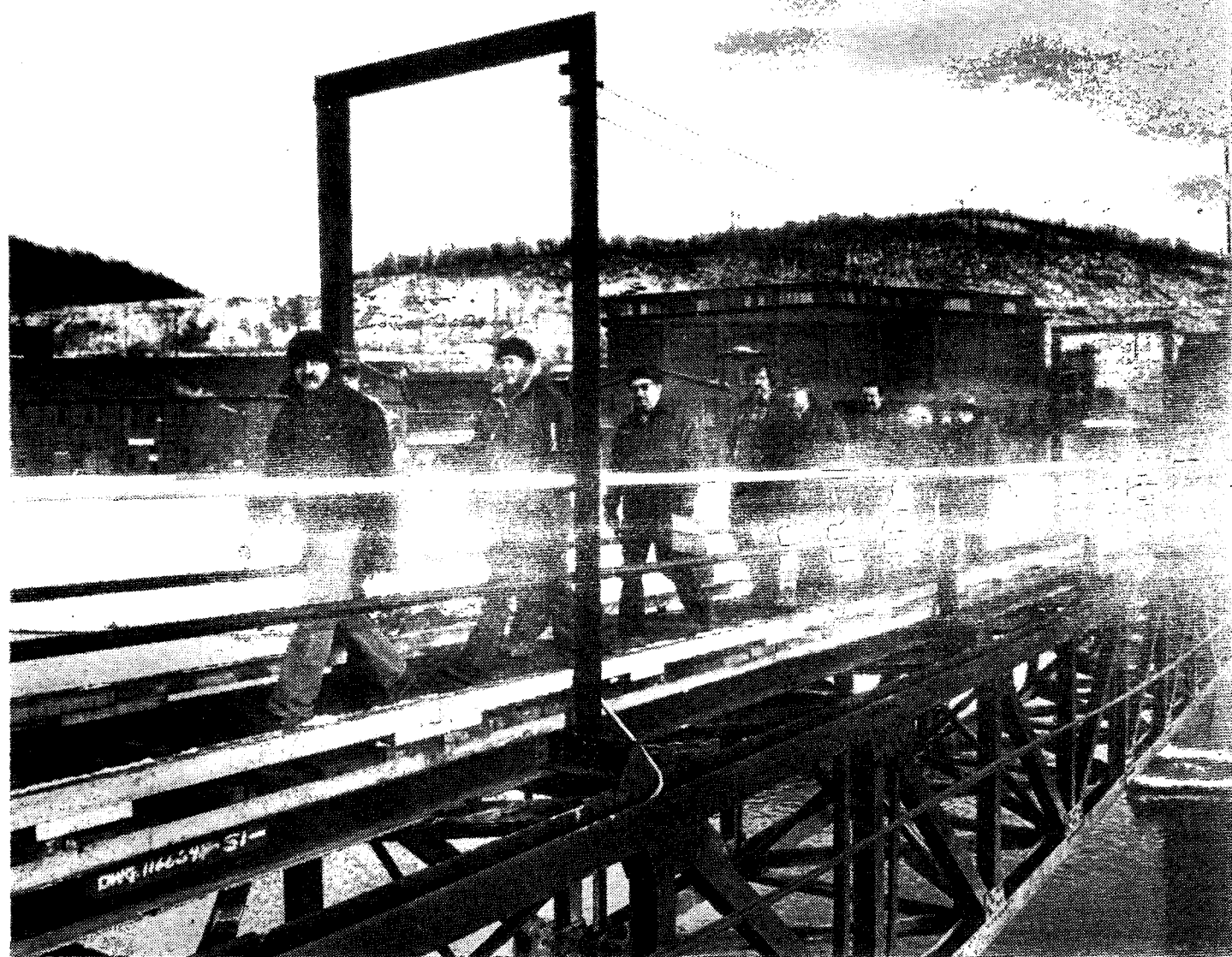
In July a series of thunderstorms moved into the Allegheny mountains above Johnstown and stayed for more than eight hours. A stationary freak of nature, the storms poured 12 inches of water onto the hills before moving on.

Little runoff creeks that usually trickle down the mountains to the rivers, swelled rapidly, both with water and with top soil torn loose from the hills by the steady downpour. Solomon Run, Sam's Run, Cheney Run—innumerable little streams whose presence is usually unnoticed, became raging torrents. Debris—mostly trees and rocks and underbrush at first, and automobiles and parts of houses later—built up little dams, which then burst, exploding water onto unsuspecting people in the valleys below.

The next day the sun was shining. Seventy-six people were dead, hundreds were homeless and more than \$300 million in damage had been done.

The dead: ordinary people—Jim Smith and his two sons, Troy and Todd, whose house broke in half and washed away; three steelworkers and a bartender, trapped at Jerry's Place in Franklin by the rising waters and then drowned when Jerry's Place washed away in a sudden torrent.

The damage: mostly houses with holes ripped in them, or moved off their founda-



Although the residents and workers of Johnstown, Pa., have had to undergo two quick blows in succession—a major flood that devastated the city and massive layoffs in the mills that are the economic lifeblood of the area—they are not ready to give up. Their roots are in Johnstown and, if they possibly can, they intend to stay.

dations, or simply swept away. Houses of wood, \$20,000 to \$30,000 houses; old houses, most of them, worked on and reworked through lifetimes from one generation to another.

### The second punch.

The flood was only the first punch. The policies of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., brought to a head by the international crisis in steel, was the other.

Many of Bethlehem's mills sustained damage from the flood. But the mills are located along the big rivers and it wasn't the rivers that did the worst damage. The mills dug out, cleaned up and opened for business within weeks of the flood. Then they laid off 3,500 of their 12,000 employees.

The flood just hurried the layoffs. Faced with a dramatic slack in the worldwide demand for steel and with increased competition because of that slack, Bethlehem lost over \$400 million last year. It decided it had to cut back somewhere and Johnstown was the place it chose.

What Bethlehem has done and is doing is difficult to determine. There are those, mainly company officials, who say that the company has steadily modernized its Johnstown plant over the past 20 and 30 years. They point out that the company built a new 11-inch mill in the heart of town 12 years ago and that at the time of the flood it was involved in the multi-million dollar process of converting from open hearth to basic oxygen furnaces (BOFs).

But others point out that the "new" 11-inch mill is the only new installation in Johnstown since World War II and that the Johnstown plant is the only one of Bethlehem's steel-making mills that doesn't have BOFs. Furthermore, tremendous pressure from the state Environmental Protection Agency was needed to force Bethlehem to undertake the reconversion process.

Whatever Bethlehem has or has not done in the past, Johnstown's future depends on the completion of the BOF reconversion process. Bethlehem has halted work on the BOFs for now and has won a two-year delay in meeting state en-

vironmental standards. But unless it completes the reconversion in the next two years, Johnstown will no longer make steel. If that happens, most of Bethlehem's mills will be shut down and another 4,000 or so workers permanently laid off. In a town of 46,000 whose downtown area and many swatches of neighborhoods have been gutted by a flood, that's a death sentence.

### Tradition and community.

Most of the people in the Johnstown valleys have been here a while. It's a place where houses are known by the families who live in them. People still refer to "Vaculic's house," even though the Franklins live there now. Or did, before the flood.

Johnstown is an old town by American standards, and its people cling to many of the older ways increasingly abandoned in larger metropolitan areas.

There are an amazing number of family-owned stores, for example—from the giant Glosser Bros. department store downtown to mom-and-pop groceries like Kopriva's and Oco's, which have kept themselves alive by earning big reputations for their specialties, submarine sandwiches or freshly cut Polish ham.

The back half of Bantly's Hardware was destroyed by the flood. Most of its extensive inventory, some of it "old-time stuff you couldn't find anywheres else," was lost. Old Mr. Bantly had passed the store on to his sons, Chalmers and Bob, and at the time of the flood Bob's son, Bobby, was running the store.

Bantly's was a good hardware store. You could get almost anything there, and they always seemed to be open when nobody else was and you needed a kanooten valve right away. Everybody knew Bob and Bobby and Newt Miller, and they called you by name and asked after your father or sister—and if they weren't busy, they might even tell you a story about one of your relatives or friends.

There are probably equally well-stocked hardware stores in the new shopping malls on the hills, in Westmont and Richland. But if Bantly's doesn't rebuild, more than a hardware store will be lost.

The Penn Traffic, a five-story block-

long department store downtown, has also closed. With better and more expensive merchandise than Glosser Brothers, the Penn Traffic was to Johnstown what Field's and Carson's are to Chicago, or Bloomingdale's to New York. While Glosser's—like Goldblatt's or Sears, more gritty and hassled—might be where you bought more merchandise, the Penn Traffic was more fun to "shop."

The flood water filled Penn Traffic's basement and first floor and, of course, destroyed thousands of dollars of merchandise. But the building itself was hardly damaged. The flood was not the cause of its closing, it was merely a "last straw." The margin of profit at Penn Traffic's downtown store was meager compared to its much newer store on the hill in suburban Richland.

The closing of the Penn Traffic is a sign that Johnstown is dying. The closing of Bantly's Hardware would be a sign that the world is falling apart.

People in Johnstown cling to the old ways. They resist the transient, novelty-drenched way of life of the middle classes. Those who have been making a good buck have spent some of it by turning over consumerist junk, but they have not yet learned to accept the rapid turnover of human relationships characteristic of the highly mobile. They have not learned to jump from job to job, from city to city. They have not learned to leave family and friends—a whole set of complicated, sometimes oppressive, relationships—behind them like so many old toys.

The working class as a whole, both blue and white collar, carries on a profound but largely invisible resistance to the "post-industrial" way of life. They are committed to a firmer, more rooted and ultimately more humane way. That is one reason why there will be such pain and confusion when people like Eddie Pacholski have to move to Texas.

### Waiting and watching.

Everyone describes the night of the flood the same way. It was like daytime all night with one bolt of lightning after another. And the loudest thunder you ever heard.

Continued on page 20.



## EDUCATION

# School children learn to sell Pepsi

Right now in schools across the country children are busy selling Pepsi-Cola in the name of education. They are part of Pepsi's "Learn and Earn Project"—an annual competition set up by Pepsi and the Distributive Education Clubs of America (DECA) that encourages students to sell the soft drink at pep rallies, basketball games and other school functions—all for class credit.

"The students get involved in setting up the sale of Pepsi," one DECA representative explained. "They go through the whole concept of how much to buy, whether or not to sell the big cups or the little cups..."

Then, each spring, the students write up their Pepsi-selling success stories for a chance at national prizes: shares of stock in the Pepsi-Cola company.

According to materials the company sends to teachers, the project professes to "help strengthen students' broad understandings of business—particularly its broad marketing and management aspects."

Whether it fulfills this objective or not, it does succeed in selling Pepsi.

The "Learn and Earn Project" is just one example of the hundreds of ways foods companies (as well as other types of corporations, public utilities, and trade associations) promote their products in schools. Particularly in the fields of nutrition and home economics, companies send numerous "teaching aids": highly professional films, shiny work-books and pamphlets—all available to teachers at well below commercial rates or free. For example, the Savannah Sugar Refining Corporation puts out a booklet for students called "Sugar through the Ages," which includes statements such as "Scientists have found that generous amounts of sugar are a valuable part of well-balanced diets for growing children."

Meanwhile, mimeograph materials sent to home economics classes by the Campbell Soup Company refer to the Campbell Cookbook which, of course, mentions only recipes using Campbell products.

By far the largest supplier of nutrition-education materials to schools is the National Dairy Council, which provides all sorts of pamphlets addressing questions ranging from "How am I doing socially?" to "How am I doing physically?" Woven throughout these materials are subtle references to dairy products, daily calcium requirements, etc. Drink milk, the message seems to be, and you too can be popular.

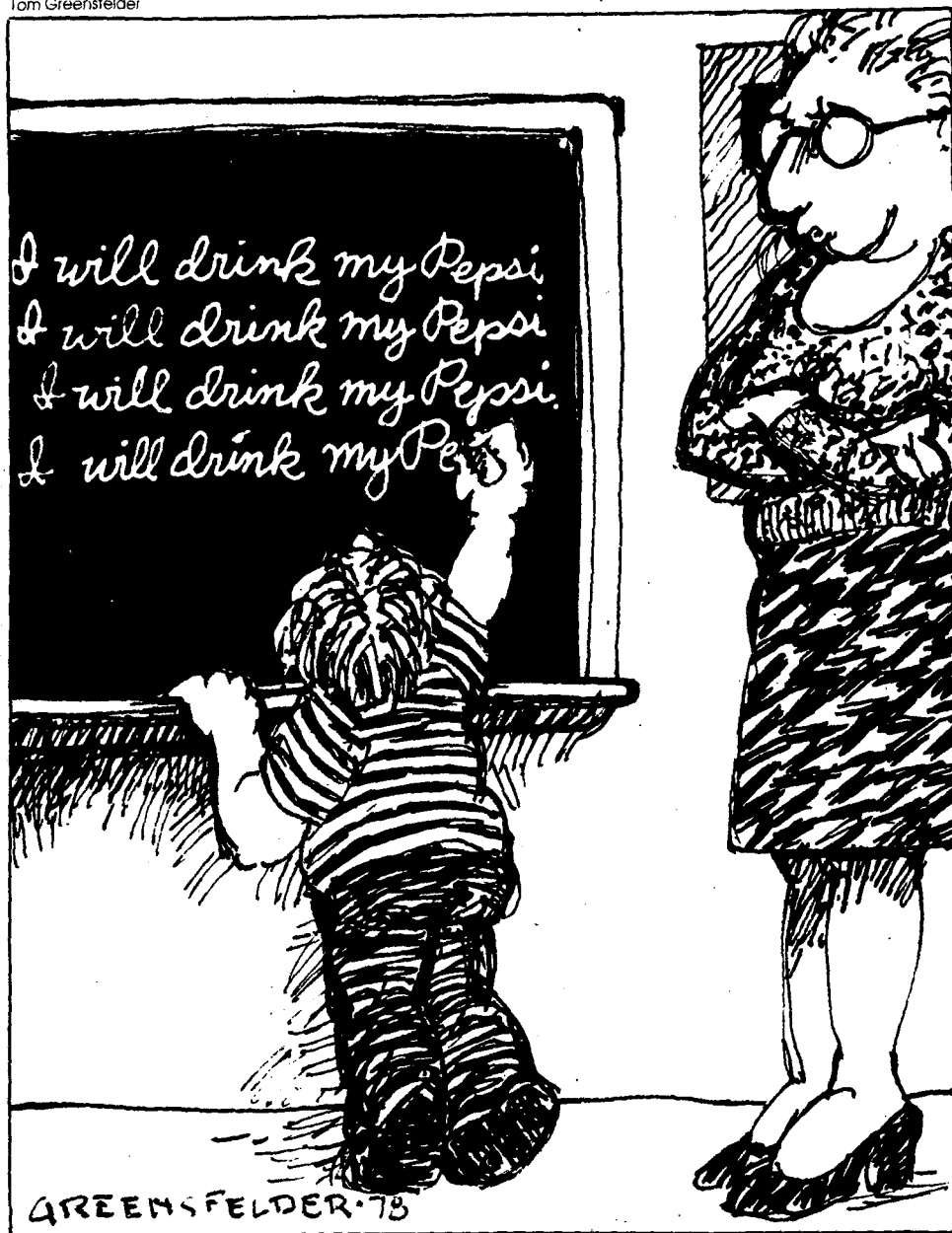
## The Pepsi promotion scheme is only one of a myriad of ways business "educates."

But nutrition and home economics are not the only areas where corporations have found a lucrative form of advertising. A mathematics textbook called "Mathematics Around Us," published by Scott, Foresman and Company, features illustrations of 58 different corporate brands and businesses, including Tootsie Roll, Cracker Jack, Juicyfruit, Hershey, Baby Ruth, McDonald's and Dairy Queen.

On one page in the textbook, 15 Coca-Cola bottle caps are used to illustrate the division of 15 by five. On another page, under a box of Juicyfruits that costs 12 cents in the illustration (but 20 cents in most stores) is the mathematical problem: "How many boxes of Juicyfruits for 75¢? How much money is left?" What ever happened to apples and oranges? ■

(© 1978 Liberation News Service)

Tom Greensfelder



## LABOR

# Seattle auto trades on strike

By Henry Gordon

SEATTLE

More than 750 trade unionists and community supporters marched here April 1 in defense of the union shop for auto trades workers. The union shop has been the focal point of an 11-month strike by 800 members of Automotive Machinist local 289 against the King County Auto Dealers Association. In both numbers and militancy the march through the downtown area was the most dramatic show of strength and solidarity by organized labor here in years.

The march followed a day of picketing at which 250 volunteer picketers joined striking machinists at nearly 50 dealerships around King County.

Seattle auto trades workers won the union shop 40 years ago, but when their contract expired in May 1977, the auto dealers, with the aid of John McCormac, a high-priced professional union buster, set out to break the union. Four months later union members voted to accept a

tentative agreement. But the dealers rejected the offer, holding out for an open shop. An open shop does not require all workers to belong to the union. It remains the only unresolved issue.

For months the dealers' efforts seemed successful. Union members were isolated in small units, scattered around the city and county, each relatively weak. More than 75 percent of the local went back to work or found other employment.

In December 1977 the King County Labor Council admitted the situation was critical. There were widespread fears that if the union were to be broken, it would encourage those seeking an initiative to get a state right-to-work law.

A strike support committee was formed. The group fumbled for a month before coming up with what may prove the decisive "adopt-a-dealer" strategy. In early January locals began adopting dealerships and sending regular Saturday picketers. At that time the Federal Mediation Service asked both sides to submit the union security clause to binding arbitration. The dealers, confident of victory, refused.

So the labor movement started to respond. The aeromechanics gave \$50,000. Four ILWU locals sent "white hat brigades" of Saturday picketers. Laborers, teachers, roofers, pulp and paper workers, bakers, electricians all came out in support.

Community groups, notably El Centro de la Raza, which translated union literature into Spanish, became involved. The newly elected mayor and area church leaders urged the dealers to negotiate. Public sentiment swung from apathy to support for the mechanics, culminating in the April 1 march.

The union estimates sales losses to struck dealers of \$1 million a week. In spite of the local press, which grows fat off the dealers' ad dollars, public sentiment appears behind the mechanics. The pickets have successfully increased public awareness and support.

"Honk if you hate scabs," the picket signs read. And, for the first time in a long while, people are driving by with their horns blaring. ■

Henry Gordon is a Seattle writer.

# N.C. labor center

Continued from page 5.

vices to Business, that is 310 pages long. I feel our state university system is financed by taxes. Workers pay an unfair share of that support through the regressive sales tax of 4 percent on every mouthful of food they buy to eat. They ought to reap some benefit."

The center, as Hobby and others envision it, would be a place workers could learn labor and safety law, for example, where basic research on the future of the state's labor force could be carried out, and where an archive on state labor history could be located.

Similar centers are located in 37 states. The first was established at the University of Wisconsin 50 years ago, and even in Alabama, under the sponsorship of George Wallace, there is a labor education center.

But Shuford and his friends have managed to keep the idea bottled up with the UNC Board of Governors. Their planning committee first approved the idea in October last year as a continuing edu-

cation center. That group's approval, while necessary, does not guarantee action. The full board took the matter up in November and referred the center idea back to the planning committee for a feasibility study. Shuford, president of Century Furniture Co., cast the only vote against proceeding with the feasibility study. He noted that the Furniture Workers union planned a major drive in the Carolinas this spring.

The board's action has drawn pickets from the Peoples' Alliance, an activist group in the Research Triangle area. And petitions backing the center have circulated in the state. Hobby has quietly lobbied for the center. But its fate is in doubt. Rep. A.J.H. Clement, a Democrat from Durham who has backed the idea, isn't optimistic. The board of governors, he said, "is a stacked deck."

To date Hunt hasn't backed off. In mid-February he told reporters, "It would not be a union organizing force. I support it, still. It has nothing to do with unions, organizing unions. It would probably ben-

efit management by helping labor understand profit-management problems."

William Friday, president of the university system, is reportedly taking a neutral position on the issue.

## Dirty tricks.

In the meantime, what were the managers learning at their seminars?

A full report on the Charlotte meeting alone could be done, but focusing on the dirty tricks section gives the flavor of the educational experience:

Imberman lamented the passing of the good old days in union busting. "You're past the days," he said, "when you can bring in the state troopers to bust up the union or bust up the picket line. You have to be a little more subtle. Perhaps that's unfortunate, but some of the good old days are gone."

He urged that management find spies—trusted secretaries, foremen, and others who can be counted on to provide an early warning of any worker discontent or of any union organizing efforts. He urged that blacklists be kept despite their illegality. "But," he warned, "they must be kept in a very safe place."

Loyal workers should be encouraged to

attend union meetings, he said, and urged to ask embarrassing questions. This tactic will both bother the union and also provide a means for the company to "come back the next day with flyers, posters, letters and newspaper clippings featuring those questions."

He mentioned a classic anti-union newspaper clipping from the early 1960s. A judge is quoted as saying he was helpless to prevent a union from fining a woman who refused to attend union meetings on Sunday morning. "That clipping is particularly effective with women and churchgoers," he said.

Once a company learns an organizing drive is underway, Imberman told executives, the first thing they must do is to make their anti-union position clear in a firm, "but non-threatening speech."

Next, he said, it is essential to arrange for the services of a first-rate labor lawyer, "a real cracker-jack—one that's willing to go around kicking everybody in the balls."

North Carolina workers know the type. ■

Frank Adams is a cobbler in North Carolina who frequently writes for IN THESE TIMES.



# IN THE WORLD

## CHINA

# The making of a superpower

By David Milton

**O**LD FASHIONED NATIONALISM appears to be replacing the revolutionary ideology of Mao Tse-tung as the motive force behind the drive to make China one of the leading industrial world powers by the year 2000. Communist party chairman Hua Kuo-feng unveiled a ten-year economic plan to achieve this goal in a long speech delivered to the National People's Congress held in Peking in late February. "By the end of the century," he said, "the output per unit of major agricultural products is expected to reach or surpass advanced world levels and the output of major industrial products to approach, equal or outstrip that of most developed capitalist countries." Western press comments on Hua's speech noted that his remarks were reminiscent of former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's promise to bury the West.

Since China now shows signs of returning to a path of modernization that the West regards as more "sensible" and "practical" than the visionary goals mapped out by the century's great rebel, the American press has reported recent events in China in a more or less straightforward fashion. Not a few editorials in the U.S. have expressed smug satisfaction over the fact that the Chinese have finally come to realize that human beings are by nature motivated through self-interest rather than by altruism and that the road to progress is paved with material incentives. The capitalist world had been frightened by Mao's success in stirring up millions behind the slogan "Rebellion is Justified." Now China might be less interesting, but more understandable. Americans do not have much difficulty in coming to terms with goals that are measured quantitatively.

### "Rational rules and regulations."

There is no question that the most significant historical action taken by the 1978 People's Congress was the decision to abolish the revolutionary committees formed during the Cultural Revolution in factories, schools and farm brigades. These representative management committees are to be replaced by one-person management exercised by factory directors, school principals and production brigade heads under the leadership of the Communist party. China is returning to the management system set up by the Russians in China during the 1930s. It is ironic that just as Sweden, West Germany and Great Britain are experimenting with worker-management schemes, no matter how unrepresentative of real workers' power these structures may be, the Chinese are abandoning the concept altogether.

In any case, Chairman Hua and Peking central planners have laid out a no-nonsense program for economic growth. A single executive will be in charge of each factory, while stricter accounting practices will be introduced to tighten state control over industry and emphasize profit-making for individual enterprises.

Plans call for the "institution of rational rules and regulations" in factories and the right of enterprises to create their own capital reserves.

During the years I spent in China "rational rules and regulations" were condemned as methods inspired by Russian revisionism. A new emphasis on cost, profits, expenses, size of the work force, and output value will be put into effect to measure the efficiency of capital investment. Also, a determined effort will be made as part of the general tightening up procedure to cut down on misappropriation (theft) of plant materials by employees. Administrative staffs and levels of bureaucracy will grow in proportion to the rationalization of production.

Decisions have apparently been made to allow Chinese workers more freedom of travel, thus creating a new mobile labor force that will be able to seek jobs wherever they may exist. China has been divided into six great administrative regions to coordinate the overall ten-year plan for the whole country, and the People's Congress set up a number of new national ministries covering different sectors of the economy. A 20 percent wage increase has already been granted to 60 percent of the lowest paid categories of workers, cadres and teachers; production bonuses will soon be introduced to spur higher levels of output throughout the nation.

Among the goals set by Peking are the creation of 14 new industrial centers, ten steel complexes, eight additional large coal mines, ten new oil and gas fields, 30 major power stations, six trunk railroads and five new harbors. China hopes to triple its steel production by 1985. However, the first priority, according to Chairman Hua, is to achieve the mechanization of agriculture "so that labor and capital can be rechanneled into industry." Since there are 600 million or more peasants working in the countryside there would seem to be an infinite amount of labor to rechannel. How much of this labor can actually be absorbed by Chinese industry is a question of intense interest to many economists.

China has set itself very ambitious goals that many Western economists believe will be very difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. But China has a good technical and economic base on which to build. The Russians laid the foundations for China's machine tool and heavy industries in the '50s, the Chinese have since created the infra-structure for a modern economy, and recent discoveries of vast oil and mineral deposits provide the means for another great leap forward.

### China-Japan trade.

Senior Chinese officials are now attending seminars in Japan to learn how the

Japanese achieved their unsurpassed post-World War II industrialization. China, with a population seven to eight times that of Japan and perhaps 20 times the natural resources, now hopes to duplicate the Japanese race to industrial power. If such a hope can be realized, then despite Hua's pledge that "China will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower," China will have become the greatest *de facto* superpower on earth. In recent months Peking has openly encouraged Japanese rearmament. A Tokyo-Peking military alliance in the future is a possibility.

Moreover, the recent \$20 billion China-Japan trade deal is a good start on the road to accelerated economic growth. Japan will double its annual import of Chinese crude oil with a target of 15 million tons set for 1982, and import 5.3 million tons of Chinese coking coal plus 3.9 million tons of other coals. In exchange, Japan has agreed to sell the Chinese \$7.8 billion worth of complete plants and technology plus another \$2.3 billion of construction materials and equipment. The Japanese have also contracted to build a large integrated steel plant in Shanghai, and another two plants in Fujian and Shaanxi provinces are being negotiated.

The recent People's Congress, like all previous Congresses, rewrote the constitution, which is more of a political platform than a constitution. It expresses the ideas of whoever is in power at any one particular moment in history. Among the many changes of emphasis, the key change is the emphasis on production as the State's basic goal, in contrast to the stress on revolution in the last constitution. The reference in the 1975 document to workers, peasants and soldiers has been deleted and replaced by the phrase "all power in China belongs to the people."

Freedom of speech, correspondence,

The ripple effect of this major deal, meaning the peripheral trade related to the main pact, will probably reach another \$4.2 billion by 1982 according to authoritative sources in the West. None of this includes the normal trade already being carried on between the two countries. As western protectionist pressures drive Japan towards Chinese markets, a new great center of world power is rapidly arising.

Western experts believe that the Chinese did well in winning favorable terms for themselves from the Japanese and will actually get the best of this long-term deal. The fact that the Japanese have agreed to accept five-year deferred payments (China's euphemism for credit) from its trading partner seems to bear out the opinion that China achieved a bargain. Japan, on the other hand, has won a favorable edge over Western Europe and the U.S. in the growing Chinese market for advanced technology.

### Kings and bandits.

Continued on page 20.



The first session of the National People's Congress at Peking's Great Hall of the People, March 1.

**At their Congress, the Chinese adopted a no-nonsense program for economic growth. With Japan's help, this program could make them a world power.**



## MIDEAST

# Presidential choice splits government

By Gidion Eshet

JERUSALEM

**T**HE READERS OF IN THESE TIMES probably have not heard the names of Dr. Yitzhak Shawe and Eliezer Rimalt. One of the two is likely to be the next president of Israel. Good news. But who is presently the president of that remote and troublesome country? one may ask. And what difference does it make?

Whoever the next president will be, he is unlikely to influence the policies of this country. But if it is to be Dr. Rimalt, the coalition headed by Menahem Begin will no longer be as before. Within the Likud, which is the largest coalition party, only two factions, Herut and La'am, are hot-headed Greater Israel enthusiasts. The third faction—the Liberals—are more moderate and are closer in their political views to the Labour party. All of the Democratic Movement for Change and about half of the National Religious party—the other partners in the coalition—hold the same views as Labour. In the context of present events, the difference is this: Labour, DMC, NRP *et al.* agree to both demands made by President Carter. Herut and La'am say nay.

During Begin's visit to the U.S., it became clear that Begin is rejecting Carter's demand that Israel declare that UN Resolution 242 means Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza and that it promise no new settlements during negotiations. Carter is not asking Israel to withdraw from all the territories or in fact even parts of them. He is only asking for the principle. Carter needs that in order to help President Sadat in his negotiating with Israel. If Sadat's peace efforts are hit by Israeli obstinacy, his pro-American regime could be endangered,

**Fear of the U.S. has split Begin's coalition between moderates and Greater Israel enthusiasts. This is behind the debate over a new president.**

and that could be a blow to American interests in this region.

Sadat, so it seems, is willing to reach a separate agreement with Israel. But in order to be able to negotiate such a deal, he needs some understanding that Israel is willing to withdraw from the Palestinian land—the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

But Israel is unwilling to grant him that. At least that is the policy of Begin who heads the Herut faction and his friends in La'am. The other partners to the coalition think differently.

The liberals who are part of the Likud bloc have until now supported Begin. They supported him because he was successful. But now things seem to change. Strained relations with the U.S. has frightened the Liberals, who are a party of businessmen and well-to-do merchants.

The main interest of these people has traditionally been economics. The Liberals (who are no liberals by any standard) are very worried when Carter threatens Israel. Not being extremists, one way or the other, they do not have the same feelings Begin and his people have about Greater Israel. Under these circumstances the fight over the presidency suddenly became important.



When President Katzir announced over a month ago that he will not run for a second term no one thought much of it. The president of this country is powerless. His only power is to pardon criminals. The liberals suggested that Dr. Rimalt, the veteran leader of their party, be elected. Rimalt, who quit politics last year and became headmaster of a Tel Aviv school was the first Liberal to have come out publicly for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. No surprise, then, that his relations with Begin were not that good. If Begin had chosen some "notable" as his candidate to the presidency, even the Liberals would not make a fuss. But out of the blue Begin announced that his candi-

date is Dr. Shawe. "Dr. who?" asked most Israelis. No one has ever heard of him, not even one member of Knesset, which elects the president.

The opposition and the DMC opposed Begin's candidate, but he could be elected if all the Likud and NRP would have said yes. But the Liberals said no and are fighting for Rimalt. Rimalt now has the support of all the opposition and part of the coalition—he has the majority. As things stand, Begin's candidate is going to lose.

For an authoritarian prime minister like Begin this is a blow. It seems that the Liberals are preparing the ground for a possible change in the future.

## A Palestinian boy beaten for slogans

**Nassir Abdul Jawad had to answer not only for slogans he is accused of writing against the Israeli occupation, but also for the activities of his deported father.**

By Livia Rokach

**N**ASSIR ABDUL JAWAD IS A 14-year-old Arab Palestinian boy from Al Birah, a town ten miles north of Jerusalem in the West Bank, occupied by Israel since 1967. Nassir, who is a slim, curly-haired boy with smiling dark eyes and one of the best pupils in his class at the local school, is now facing trial in front of an Israeli military court on charges of having written slogans against the foreign occupation of his country in October 1977.

Nassir was arrested on Nov. 1 during a vast police action that took place that same day throughout the West Bank and was officially motivated by the desire of the occupation authorities to prevent hostile demonstrations on the 30th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration Nov. 2. He was taken to the police station of Al Birah together with nine other boys from his school, aged 14 to 17, and charged with having thrown stones during some previous occasions at the Military Governor's car, while the latter was driving to his office. All the boys denied the accusations, claiming they had always been punctually at school between 8 and 9

a.m., the time indicated by the interrogating officer as that of the governor's transition on that road.

The boys were thereupon beaten with Coca Cola bottles on their stomach, on their backs and at the back of their necks while the charges were repeated at short intervals during the whole day, but the boys continued to deny the charges. Towards evening they were sent home but requested to report back to the police station the next morning.

The next day, the same charges were repeated and the interrogation, this time separately, started all over again. Nassir was beaten again with Coca Cola bottles in the same manner. This time, the interrogators—there were two of them—started questioning him about his father.

### Deported father.

Nassir's father, Abdul Jawad Salih, had been the mayor of Al Birah until December 10, 1973, at midnight, when he was forcibly deported by the Israeli military authorities to Jordan. He had never been officially charged or brought to trial before then. Following his deportation the Israeli military government of the West Bank charged him with "having tried to organize support for the Palestine organizations" and, with "opposition and resis-

tance to the Israeli authorities." Explaining the charge, the Israeli press cited his having reportedly protested to the military governor the arbitrary arrests of citizens during demonstrations against the occupation.

The interrogators talked to Nassir about his father's deportation and wanted to know why the family had stayed behind in Al Birah. "You should not stay here, you should go and join him," they said repeatedly. Then the beatings started all over again. Nassir knew that such pressure had already been exercised on his mother, who some time before had been called to the Russian Compound Interrogation Center in Jerusalem and told the family should go away. As the beatings continued, one of the interrogators shouted, "Your father wanted to kill me..." And also, "Your father is too clever at making communiques."

When Nassir was finally sent home that evening, he was shocked and fearful. Not only had his father been deported four years before in the middle of the night by a military company who brutally invaded the house—a scene that would leave indelible marks on any ten-year-old child—but also his brother, Omar, who is one year older than himself, had been arrested in February that year with 28 other school boys from Al Birah, and badly tortured before being thrown into jail for five months on the unproved charge that he had "stolen bombs in order to throw them at Israeli settlers" near Al Birah. During the day's session, one of the interrogators also asked him the age of his younger brother, Alaa. Nassir told him Alaa was almost five years old. "When he has passed his fifth year we'll take him too and torture him," the interrogator said laughing. That evening the boys, who were to report again the next day, decided to "admit" that they had thrown stones at the military governor's car.

But when the next day the boys "con-

fessed" to the charges against them, they were told that their school had confirmed that they were attending classes on the days and hours in question. Thus the charges were changed to "having written anti-occupation slogans on the walls in town." Again the interrogations, accompanied by beatings, started and continued through the whole day. This time Nassir was told that the men were revenging themselves upon him for his father's "crimes." Again he was told he and his family should not stay on in the West Bank.

When he came out of the police station he saw his mother waiting for him in the street. As he ran to her, he was shaking and trembling with fear and pain. She raised his shirt and saw his back and his neck all blue and black from the three consecutive days' beatings. An officer who saw the gesture called Nassir back and told him to keep silent about the beatings. "You and your mother should keep your mouths shut"—and he covered his own mouth with his hand—"or else you'll go to prison. Tell your mother that."

On the fourth day the boys were blindfolded and put up against the wall. As the hours passed, two of them fainted, but the others were told not to move. That night they were not sent home but kept at the interrogation center. At night the questioning began again. This time Nassir was accused of having organized at school a group presumably called "The Young People of Palestine." He denied this. Again he was beaten.

At a certain point one interrogator asked him, "How old are you?" Nassir repeated that he was 14 years old. The man who asked the question seemed to be filled with compassion for him, but the second interrogator became furious and shouted at the former one, "Yes, yes, he's 14, but his father is with the PLO in Beirut." Then he started questioning the boy

Continued on page 11.



## SPECIAL REPORT FROM NORTHERN IRELAND

## Ten years later, the war still goes on

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

**T**HIS YEAR OF ANNIVERSARIES—ten years since the Prague spring, ten years since the great French general strike, ten years since the Chicago police went wild—will also mark ten years since a new generation challenged the power structure in Northern Ireland. Across those ten years of bombings, bloodshed, repression and abortive political initiatives, nothing positive has emerged except the certainty that the *status quo ante bellum* cannot be restored.

What the upsurge of 1968 did was to break the system that, under a guise of democracy, gave the Protestant majority exclusive power to hold down the Catholic minority. In the succeeding years, British governments made several attempts to patch things up on a basis of coalition politics. But the last of these efforts foundered in 1975 on the rocks of Protestant intransigence. Since then, all forms of democracy have been in abeyance and Northern Ireland has been governed virtually as a colonial territory. Roy Mason—the tough, obstinate ex-miner who took over as Secretary of State in 1976—has proved to be the right man to implement this policy, or rather absence of policy.

But people in every segment of the political scene are asking more and more insistently: How long can it last? Direct rule can be tolerable only if it's temporary, if the way is being cleared for a restoration of civic peace and hence of democratic institutions. Mason's claim was that, given plenary powers, he would secure the defeat of the Provisional IRA, whom he regularly describes as a "handful of psychopaths" repudiated by all citizens of the province, including the Catholics.

The much-publicized emergence of the Peace People, with two Catholic women in the spotlight, was supposed to bear out this picture. But their adulation by the media, their apparently limitless funds, their condemnation of IRA violence but never of Army violence—all these soon discredited them.

**IRA alive and well.**

When I visited Belfast last October, official spokesmen impressed on me that the IRA was on the verge of collapse. Information from "ordinary people sick of violence" was flowing in, the gunmen were isolated, the graph of their activities was showing an inexorable decline. But since I narrowly missed an IRA ambush of a military convoy one morning and a bomb in the closely-guarded city center the next evening, I wasn't wholly convinced.

The IRA men themselves (it's remarkably easy for a journalist to make contact) appeared neither panicky nor bombastic. Yes, I was told in a house in Falls Road, there were certain problems—in particular a shortage of gelignite. Any war, especially an urban guerilla war, has defensive and offensive phases. I was advised to wait and see.

The early months of 1978 showed that I'd been given more of the truth in Falls Road than in Stormont Castle. The IRA has cheekily distributed photographs of volunteers armed with its new heavy machine-gun. Soldiers and policemen have been ambushed and killed on a rising scale. Recently, the South Armagh brigade managed to shoot down a helicopter and kill a British colonel.

What the Provisionals don't tell you—but well-informed gossips in Catholic pubs do—is that there is continuous debate within IRA ranks on the advisability of straight terrorism, defining this as attacks on the general population in Protestant areas. Last month a bomb was set off in a crowded restaurant in a small Protestant town; twelve people, who were neither politically involved nor linked to the police, died. The Provisionals admit-



P. Michael O'Sullivan

Since 1975, Northern Ireland has been governed as a British colony. Secretary of State Roy Mason has tried to defeat the IRA, but he has failed.

ted guilt and declared their regret. One can guess that IRA hard men planted the bomb without approval from the command.

But Catholics who are shocked by such actions, as we can be sure that the majority are, still aren't about to help Mason. "If the Provos are hammered into the ground, we're all hammered into the ground." Noting these words in a ghetto pub, I felt that they were representative and understandable.

**British-Irish conflict.**

Central to Mason's strategy, too, was co-operation with the government of the Irish Republic, then composed of the traditional enemies of the IRA. But in 1977 the historic party of Irish republicanism, the Fianna Fail, scored a landslide election victory. Jack Lynch, Fianna Fail's extremely adroit and cool-headed leader, returned as Prime Minister. Lynch's first principle is that he deals with the British as an equal and never, never allows it to appear in the eyes of his own people that he is yielding to pressure from them.

In speeches and interviews, notably on British TV and radio, Lynch calmly restated his position. He neither endorses nor encourages the IRA. He does not aim to bring the North under Dublin rule without the freely given consent of its people, including the Protestants. But his ultimate objective is the unity of Ire-

land and he will never conceal or abandon it.

While Lynch made no attacks on Mason, Mason launched into crass and irritable attacks on Lynch. These culminated recently in the charge that the great majority of IRA terrorist action (not only cross-border raids, but bombs in Belfast too) are directed from the Republic. All experienced observers and journalists know this to be untrue; it is merely designed to fortify Mason's battered theory that the IRA is repudiated by Northern Catholics and has no local "soil." Lynch, naturally, was very annoyed.

Prime Minister James Callaghan, too, may have been none too pleased by Mason's bull-headed remarks. He has had many dealings with Lynch over the years and they had, by all accounts, an amicable talk when the latter returned to power last September. For Callaghan, it is becoming increasingly difficult to square the circle.

For one thing, he is patiently trying to get his scheme for Scottish devolution through Parliament. It has passed its hurdles (though with some damaging amendments) in the Commons, and now has to be ratified by the Tory-dominated House of Lords. Then there will be a referendum in Scotland. But if all goes well, Scotland should have an autonomous executive responsible to a Scottish Assembly in 1979. The appearance of this new democratic apparatus would obviously contrast with

the absence of any kind of democracy or autonomy in Northern Ireland.

There is also the question of Northern Irish representation at Westminster. On a population basis the province should have 18 MPs; in fact it has 12. The disparity has been justified by the existence of a local parliament—but under the Mason regime there is no such parliament. Ulster Protestants inevitably say: "Either restore the old system or give us 18 members at Westminster."

And the immediate problem is the survival of Callaghan's minority government. It depends primarily on the pact with the Liberals, but that is perpetually shaky. Every vote in the Commons, therefore, counts. Two of the 12 members from Northern Ireland are Catholics and they are natural allies of a Labour government, or at least natural anti-Tories. But Callaghan has also been concerned to conciliate the ten Unionists. To do this, he must refrain from new efforts at coalition politics in Ulster ("selling out to the Papists") and from any weakening on the direction of a united Ireland.

The Unionists have grudgingly put up with Mason's direct rule, but they don't like it—they want to run the show themselves. They have been judging Mason by results, which now seem extremely sparse whether in terms of economic revival or of smashing the IRA. Something, sooner or later, has to give. When and how, it's not easy to predict.

## Palestinian boy beaten

Continued from page 10.

regarding his father: Where does he live? What kind of car does he use? How many guards does he have? Nassir denied any knowledge. The beatings and the questioning about his father lasted all night.

The next morning Nassir was put in a solitary cell where he remained shut up for the next 18 days. He was released on Nov. 22 on a 5,000 IL bail. Three weeks ago he was called to the police station, his fingerprints were taken, and he was photographed with a number plate on his chest. He and the other nine boys with whom he was arrested were told to expect

to be called to trial very soon. Meanwhile, the International Red Cross had been informed in detail about the case by Nassir's mother.

The case of Nassir Abdul Jawad is by no means a single or exceptional one insofar as the abuse of human rights by Israel in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza strip is concerned. (See IN THESE TIMES, Aug. 10, 1977.)

The U.S. State Department report to Congress on the repression and abuse of individual liberties by Israel in the Occupied Territories, made public on Feb. 9, 1978, admits that Israel, a major U.S.

aid beneficiary, makes use of "extreme physical and psychological pressures during interrogation."

There is no doubt that the Israeli authorities will deny this story as they have denied previous reports of torture and ill treatment of Palestinian Arabs in the Occupied Territories. With Nassir's trial forthcoming they may also try to put pressure on Nassir and his family to deny it. The Abdul Jawad family was quite conscious of this when they authorized me to tell the story in detail. Their "Via dolorosa" is far from ended—it will probably not be over until the occupation of the West Bank has been brought to an end.

Livia Rokach comes from a well-known Israeli family. Her father was mayor of Tel Aviv. She is presently a correspondent in Rome for *Repubblica*.



# ONE NIGHT STAND "I LOVE YOU," JIMMY TOLD CLINTON BUT THE NEXT MORNING HE WAS GONE.

If ever a town needed to be born again, it is Clinton, Mass. The day after President Jimmy Carter concluded a much publicized visit in March 1977, the biggest business in town, the Colonial Press, shut down. It was the most dramatic event in Clinton in 40 years.

Bill Coulter, editor of the *Clinton Daily Item*, which his family has owned since the Civil War, wrote to the President three days after Carter had told the town hall crowd that to ensure that their letters reached him personally, all they had to do was circle "Clinton" on the envelope in red ink.

"Dear Mr. President," Coulter wrote, "I cannot thank you enough for your wonderful visit here in our town. The moral and psychological uplift your visit gave our community was significant. . . . On the day you left, Colonial Press, Inc., one of our largest industries, announced it was in serious trouble. Anything Washington is able to do in the way of helping to get Colonial back on a firm economic footing would be appreciated. More than 800 persons rely on Colonial for a living and it would be a severe shock to the economy of the town if Colonial should have to close its doors."

"The little blond girl you called 'my sweetheart' Thursday morning after shaking her hand twice outside the Thompson home was my daughter Cathy. She will never forget the thrill she received: Thank you."

More than a month later, Coulter received a letter from an aide whose job it is to open White House mail, telling the editor that his letter had been referred to the Small Business Administration. Two months after that a packet of junk mail arrived from the Boston SBA office.

Rep. Joseph Early, whose district embraces Clinton, had better luck. During a breakfast conference the following autumn, Early informed the President that the Clinton High School football team had captured the Massachusetts Midland League championship. The Gaels, as the team is called, are more popular in Clinton than town meetings, and draw more than 2,000 paying adults for each game. Carter was touched. The week before Thanksgiving he wrote Early: "I was pleased to learn from you about the great successes of the Clinton High School football team. I fully share your admiration for the skill, hard work, perseverance and good sportsmanship displayed by the members of this fine team. I feel that I have a special bond with the people of Clinton since my visit there earlier this year. And I share in their sentiments as they express their pride

in their high school's winning team."

Clinton, a largely Irish, self-enclosed universe of 13,000 located 15 miles northeast of Worcester, is like an isolated ward of Boston. It is devoutly political, which is why it was chosen as the site for a visit from Jimmy Carter shortly after his inauguration, on the day before St. Patrick's Day.

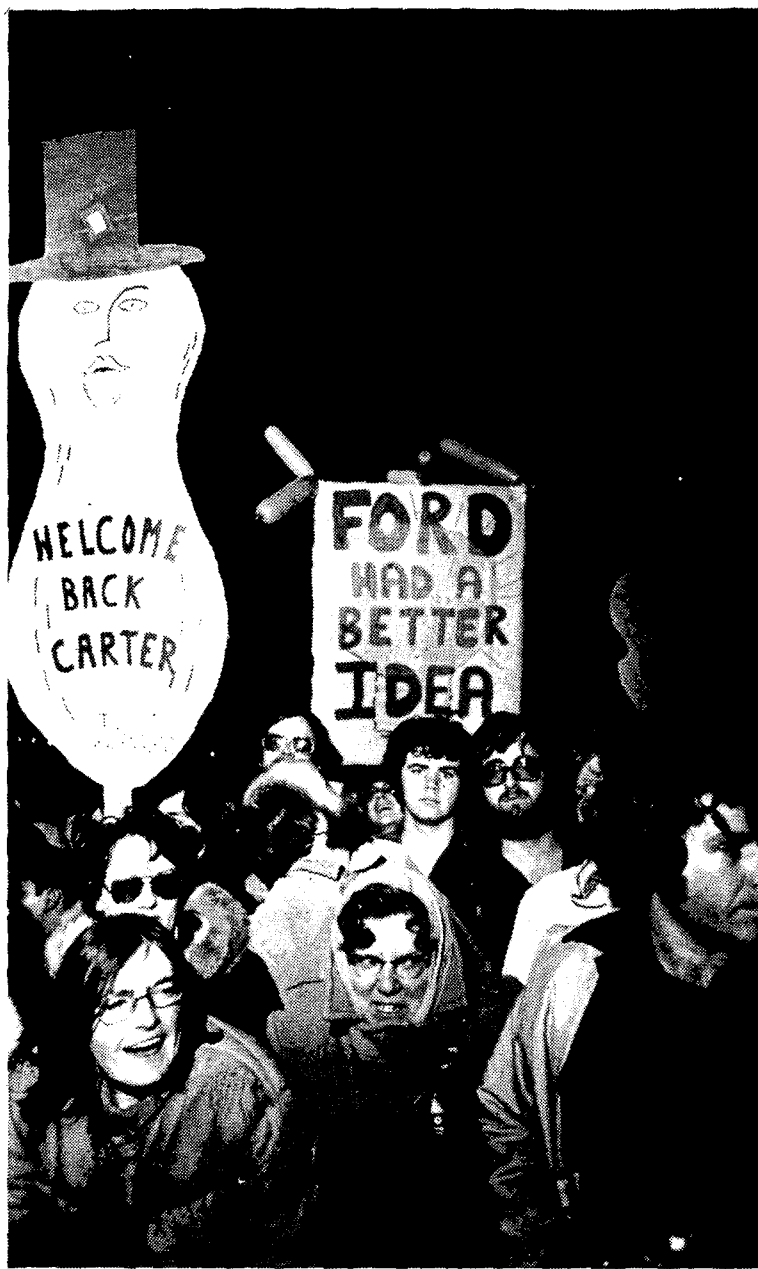
That day the *Clinton Daily Item* published on its front page a large green cartoon of the President. Wearing a coat with a huge shamrock on it and holding a pilgrim's hat, he stands in a car driven by grim-faced Secret Service men. Shamrock flags fly from his limousine's fenders. Shamrocks are also falling from the sky. Peanut-sized townsfolk, about one-third Carter's height, are shouting greetings to him. A large banner proclaims: "Welcome to Clinton, Mass., President Jimmy O'Carter." As the *Item* cartoon suggested, on the surface Clinton wished the President to perceive it as a village of merry leprechauns.

**H**ow the President actually did perceive it was another matter. His visit was the quintessential public relations event of his young administration, an attempt to set the tone for his tenure.

Although he had been in office less than 100 days when he journeyed to Clinton, Carter had already taken to heart the memo composed by his pollster Patrick Caddell on how to be re-elected in 1980. Caddell had proposed that the President emphasize "style over substance," constructing a vaguely populist image that would divert attention from the ambiguity of his programs.

So the President's visit to Clinton had something of the aura of Frank Capra's giddily optimistic '30s films, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. At the climax of these movies, the idealistic, modest, provincial hero delivers a speech about how the American people deserve a government as good as they are. Carter's populist spectacle recapitulated Capra's art—without the comedy.

After the televised meeting in the packed town hall, the President was rushed to the Thompson family's house, where he stayed until the morning. He never saw the long red brick fac-



Above, Clinton residents welcome Carter, and listen intently (opposite) as he tells them he has a special relationship with their city.

ories, many of them abandoned, that mark Clinton's boundaries on virtually all sides.

In truth, the town has never really had a heyday. It was once a classic mill town, but now the biggest company, since Colonial's closing, manufactures plastics.

The empty factories in Clinton are well maintained, as if someone expects them to be occupied once again, but the growing number of deserted buildings creates anxiety among townsfolk that Clinton, with its escalating unemployment, might become an industrial ghost town.

Sydney Schanberg, who as metropolitan editor of the *New York Times* is the most famous person Clinton ever produced, occasionally returns to his hometown to visit his father. "The town," he says, "has been on the skids since the Depression."

The Bigelow carpet and gingham mills, founded in 1838, were the largest in the country, and the economic backbone of Clinton until they closed down during the Depression. But the ill effects were reduced when Colonial Press took over the plant and began operating a thriving business. In the past decade, Colonial Press even constructed new buildings to augment its quarters.

Now the entire combine is empty. The owners of Colonial Press, an out-of-state conglomerate, at least waited until the day after Carter left town to shut down the works.

When Clintonians learned that Jimmy Carter would grace their town on March 16, they were stunned. "The visit had semi-religious trappings," says Austin "Pete" Philbin, the 30-year-old solicitor and rising political star of Clinton. "It was like The Man was coming."

Carter's visit answered the town's profound need for a patriarchal politician; since the death two years ago of Rep. Philip Philbin, Pete's distant cousin, Clinton had been without a political godfather who would mediate for it in the larger world.

**U**ntil Philbin's death, large extended families served as the primary political machines, often including more than 100 relatives who formed a strong nucleus of campaign workers and votes. The influence of the Philbin family is still evident throughout the town in the form of the Philbin Funeral Home, the Philbin Furniture Store, the Philbin Fuel Oil Company, and Philbin Chevrolet. As Congressman, Philip Philbin had become father-protector of Clinton. Carter's visit symbolized the return of the kindly absent father.

The streets were hurriedly swept and the windows washed when news of the presidential visit spread. A few merchants began hawking peanuts dyed green and peanut necklaces. Hundreds of journalists

descended on the Old Timer's Bar, which is festooned with shamrocks year-round. Klieg lights were put up on High Street. Preparations for the President's overnight stay were busily made at the home of the Thompson family. Edward Thompson, better known as "Gunner," is a manager for a beer distributing company, and his wife, Kay, presides over a brood of eight children.

"I'm just an average guy," Gunner said. "I don't know why they picked me, but I feel wonderful." Carter's advance men knew why: the house across the street from the Thompson residence was empty and could serve as Secret Service headquarters.

Older residents of Clinton recall every occasion that a president came to town. FDR motored down High Street in an open automobile on the way to see his son at Groton. Matthew Connelly, a Clintonian who was Harry Truman's appointments secretary, arranged for Truman to campaign in Clinton on a whistle-stop tour for Adlai Stevenson. And in the 1950s, John F. Kennedy, still a U.S. senator, addressed an assembly at the high school. Mostly, these politicians wanted to win votes. But Carter, mostly, wanted to construct an identity.

One appearance he successfully arranged was that it was Clinton's three selectmen, the highest town officials, who were running the show; when there was grumbling following a lottery for the 850 seats for the President's meeting that the selectmen had reserved some tickets to distribute as favors, no one denied the charge. In fact, it was the presidential entourage that was in charge of ticket distribution and not the selectmen, whose good manners prevented them from disclosing that they were only following orders.

A Clinton official who was privy to the White House-selectmen meetings says, "It was slick on their part to let you think that you were having input. But we weren't having any goddamned input at all. They didn't want to give us credit for having IQs. Their phony dialogue was to impress us that it was open, but in the end we realized it was Jimmy's show and it would be run his way. I wanted to invite the media in to the meetings to listen so they wouldn't be conned by what the White House was putting out. We said to the White House, why don't you just tell us what to do instead of wasting our time? They said we were being too hard on them. We were the ones who had to be sensitive to them and they didn't have to be sensitive to what the town wanted."

Clinton's officials discovered quickly that Jimmy Carter's populism was mainly for stage and screen. One town official proposed to Carter advance man Ellis Woodward that before his televised speech the President be given a shillelagh, an Irish walking stick, as a gift from Clinton's



**BY SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL  
PHOTOS BY JERRY BERNDT**

retired government workers.

Woodward replied, according to a Clintonian present, "I think that's a goddamned poor idea."

"We feel," says another Clinton official, "like the girl who is told by the guy, I love you. Then he gets into her pants and that's the last you see of him."

Joe Casasanto wasn't impressed with Jimmy Carter's appearance. He didn't even enter his name in the lottery for a seat in the town hall. "I thought it was all political," he says. "He was only doing something to help himself." Casasanto's wife and several of his children ventured down High Street, Clinton's main drag, to watch the presidential motorcade, but Joe had other things on his mind. As a member of a union negotiating committee he was preoccupied with the wage offer that Sheller-Globe, the Ohio conglomerate that owned Colonial Press, said it would make to the workers that day after Jimmy Carter's visit.

The union, for which Casasanto had served as president until ill health forced him to leave office in 1975, was demanding a simple wage hike. The original contract had expired the previous September and the company had offered a 6 percent wage increase with a renegotiation clause. In February, Casasanto says, the company told the union that they had no proposals and wanted the union to wait until March 17 to renegotiate.

But curious things had been happening at Colonial Press since Sheller-Globe had purchased the firm in 1974. Colonial had always had a first-class reputation as a printer for such publishing houses as Houghton Mifflin, Prentice-Hall, and Harvard University Press. Its work on hardcover and paperback books was acknowledged in the industry to be excellent. And even at the height of the last recession, during which Sheller-Globe acquired the company, business was booming; more than 1,600 people worked in the plant and more were needed.

Casasanto, who had worked at Colonial for 25 years, quickly noticed that "Sheller-Globe knew nothing about printing." He couldn't understand why the plant manager, who knew a lot about printing, wasn't allowed to run it. All his suggestions were ignored. Instead, Sheller-Globe sent its own task force to Clinton to study how to make the operation more efficient; but none of its recommendations seemed to be implemented either. Decisions were made that confused Casasanto and the other workers.

"Sheller-Globe was alienating the customers," he says. "They wouldn't take runs of books of under 10,000. We used to take everything before. It was our bread and butter. If you don't take the little jobs, the customers don't give you the big ones. So we didn't have any work. It went bad. They cut the work force from 1,900 to 750."

The machinery, too, started



## When Clinton's biggest employer shut down the day after Carter's publicized visit, the people expected some help.

to fall apart. "Sheller-Globe never fixed anything in the bindery," Casasanto said. "If you wanted a part you almost had to go through Congress to get it." Then jobs started coming back from the customers because they hadn't been done properly the first time. The workers, Casasanto said, argued with the company about sending out imperfect material. But they were ordered to ship the stuff anyway.

The day after Jimmy Carter left town, the union committee filed into the office of Colonial Press president Robert C. Matthews for a 9 a.m. meeting, hoping to get down to business. Instead, they were handed a slip of paper informing them that Sheller-Globe intended to liquidate the company if it couldn't make an agreeable sale.

A series of complex maneuvers ensued. Matthews made a bid for the firm, followed by bids from established printers. Sheller-Globe backed off. Finally, the workers decided to put in their own bid. It made sense to people like Casasanto that they ought to own the place where they worked, since they felt they were the only ones who cared about the product and their jobs.

Led by Casasanto, they formed the Colonial Cooperative

at a meeting in the town hall. "We all talked about it over a couple of beers and said, Why not?" Casasanto recalls. "We raised \$380,000 in less than two weeks. Everyone would have an equal share. Everyone would get only one vote no matter how much they had invested." Most Clintonians were sympathetic to the cooperative: the Clinton Savings Bank offered to back them financially.

The cooperative went to Sheller-Globe and bid \$10,000 more than Matthews, but were turned down. "They said we didn't have enough capital behind us," said Casasanto. "But we did. So then they said they didn't want workers to lose their savings."

Finally Sheller-Globe agreed to sell to Matthews, but the day before the deal was to have been settled, Matthews pulled out. Sheller-Globe resolved to find a liquidator to buy the plant.

In August, the Colonial Press liquidator was chauffeured into town in a limousine. He was Ron Jaffee, vice-president of the Salan Corporation. Oblivious to the Clintonians' reaction to the liquidation, he believed he was performing a great public service by taking the press off Sheller-

Globe's hands. As he completed the transaction, he generously offered to host a huge picnic to which all citizens would be invited. "Clinton people have been totally down-to-earth," Jaffee remarked, "and we are doing this to show our appreciation, and hopefully things will be better for the people of Clinton due to our efforts." The following day the *Daily Item* ran a story estimating that Jaffee's proposed picnic would cost him \$25,000. Jaffee promptly drove out of town.

"It was a bag job all the way," Casasanto says. "We got shafted. They never gave us a chance." The selectmen of Clinton, the newspaper, and the citizens were as baffled as the workers. No one seemed to know why Sheller-Globe had chosen to liquidate rather than sell Colonial Press. The closing of the press seemed to occur in a world apart from Clinton. Sheller-Globe, a \$400 million conglomerate, was as unconcerned about the rumblings in Clinton as United Fruit used to be by stirrings in Honduras.

Casasanto still nurtures his dream of the Colonial Cooperative, although its realization becomes less and less likely.

The Clinton selectmen are, in fact, seeking federal funds for the

cooperative, but this is a lengthy process. In the meantime, neither Casasanto nor most of his former coworkers, the majority over the age of 45, can find jobs. Casasanto, over 50 and with a wife and several children to support, has heard of printing jobs in distant states, but taking one would mean separation from his family. And he probably couldn't get the jobs anyway, since there are plenty of younger printers looking for work.

"Places are closing all over. Look at Youngstown, Ohio, and Worcester. I don't know if this is to push our wages down or what. Big business is running everything. They don't like people. That's the way they operate. They give you all that jazz but they throw you out the door. Carter's making big plays on TV but the politicians don't really seem to be trying."

In a final irony, the day the Colonial Press closed, two days after his visit, Carter delivered a major human rights speech to the United Nations General Assembly, citing Clinton as a model of democracy in action. ■ *Sidney Blumenthal is Boston correspondent for IN THESE TIMES. This is a shortened version of an article that appeared in Boston Magazine.*



## IN THESE TIMES

Editorial



## He's gone about as far as he can go

President Carter's urban plan would effect a major shift in federal policy toward the cities. It would bring into being numerous programs addressed to a broad range of specific urban problems. It represents a genuine concern with reversing urban decay and revitalizing the cities as healthy places in which to live and work. It is doubtful that a significantly better plan could have been expected, given the nation's current economic shape and political complexion.

But precisely because this is very close to the best that Carter could be expected to offer there is cause for alarm.

The Carter plan recognizes the need for concerted federal, state, and local efforts to save the cities.

- It would move away from Nixon's general revenue sharing and target aid to distressed cities and incentives to states to adopt urban aid plans.

- It would accelerate delivery of funds for welfare payments and services, and shift some public works spending from suburbs to central cities.

- It would greatly increase federal purchases from minority-owned businesses.

- It would provide a battery of tax incentives, low-interest credit facilities, and grants to induce private business to locate in inner cities and hire youth, minorities, and the long-term unemployed.

- It would establish a National Development Bank run by the secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce and HUD as the centerpiece of the credit and grant programs (ITT, April 5).

In sum, it would establish a network of programs edging beyond those of New Deal and Great Society vintage and beginning to reverse decades of pro-suburb, pro-Sunbelt federal policies.

And yet, National Urban League president Vernon E. Jordan calls the plan "disheartening" and "a missed opportunity." Jordan's view is agreed to by virtually all informed observers. The urban sociologist Philip M. Hauser, for example, expresses the general consensus in saying that while the plan is a step in the right direction it is too "underfunded" to achieve its stated objectives, and that it

is "band-aid treatment for a systemic disorder." Administration officials themselves, in fact, reportedly concede that even if Congress approved all the proposed programs, it would make only a marginal difference.

Aside from simple underfunding, the plan evades dealing with those conditions fundamental to restoring a healthy urban America. It refuses a frontal assault on inner city unemployment, inadequate mass transit and schools, deteriorating housing and neighborhoods, inaccessible health care, runaway business, and displacement of poor people in many cases by the very development incentives the plan contains.

Programs in all these areas would require major intrusions upon, even the abolition of, prerogatives and powers of "private enterprise." This goes to the heart of the matter. In centering its programs on stimulating private enterprise with public funds, and making urban recovery dependent upon the will of the private sector, the Carter plan is self-de-

feating in its basic conception.

The much noted urban fiscal crisis is rooted in a private sector that cannot deliver full employment, adequate housing and public services, and will not support public policy capable of doing so. Carter's urban policy does not expand the functions and scope of the public sector, but remains subservient to private enterprise. It prescribes failure from the beginning.

It also makes it impossible to establish the "New Partnership" declared by Carter as his goal. You can't have a federal partnership with private enterprise without fatally undermining an effective or equal federal partnership with state and local governments and neighborhood associations. As long as state and local governments, and neighborhood associations, do not control productive wealth, they remain dependencies of corporate power in the private sector and can be no more than junior partners with the federal government. They cannot participate as equals in a federal system but must

throw themselves as supplicants upon the largesse of centralized power in Washington. The President's proposed National Development Bank—instead of a decentralized system of public banks—in effect affirms that the "New Partnership" is still the old centralization tied to corporate power.

It is only fair to say that Carter's critics are no more ready, at least publicly, to bite the private enterprise bullet than he is. And it is no wonder that they concede they do not have a comprehensive alternative to his plan.

In principle, Carter's plan is about as far as he or they can go. To go farther, enough Americans must recognize that in modern times a healthy society requires posing social need and democratic decision-making against corporate power ("private enterprise"). And they must make it possible, indeed necessary, for politicians to declare themselves and vote for "free public enterprise."

If that be socialism, well, consider the present and foreseeable alternative. ■

## When the prices go up, up, up

Price hikes following contract settlements have become an established pattern in the U.S., especially in steel. So has the steel industry price charade become a regular feature of presidential politics. It has almost replaced inauguration as the rite of passage from election to executive authenticity for White House occupants.

The rite is highly stylized. First, a leading steel company declares a ridiculous price hike. Then the President and all his advisers denounce it vigorously. Then another steel company declares a lower but still ridiculous price hike, and the President and his advisers praise the other steel company's restraint and patriotism. Then all the steel companies fall in line.

The companies get their price hike. The President gets recognition for courageously defending the public interest. The public gets the message that it has a real President—along with higher prices

in the form of a "lower" price hike.

This time around the steel companies receded from an initial \$10.50 to a \$5.50 per ton price hike. This will compensate them handsomely for the apparent \$4 per ton rise in the cost of producing steel that follows the coal strike settlement. Of course \$5.50 is more than \$4 and the \$4 rise will not be fully felt for three years. And, of course, this price hike is on top of a 5.5 percent hike already put in place in late 1977 and early 1978, and an 8.5 percent rise in both 1976 and 1977.

The "reference price" system set by the Treasury department to exclude steel imports below the domestic price set by the corporations adds government price support muscle to the higher prices.

The public, meanwhile, can only watch the executive charade without reliable criteria for judging its results. We need to

know the real costs of steel production, and the real profits and how the corporations use them. The steel companies protect these statistics like state secrets. Without them, however, there is no way of telling whether steel prices are justified, whether the steel industry is efficiently run, or whether the American economy can afford the price of "private enterprise" in one of its most basic industries. The same may be said for other major industries.

Corporate books should be open to public scrutiny. Congress should have the power to subpoena all cost, profit and price data from the huge corporations. As the presidential price charades, the subsidies, tax breaks and protective measures indicate, corporate enterprise is not a private affair. The business of America should be everybody's business.



# Letters

## A pacifist, but...

I'M A PACIFIST BY NATURE BUT Mark Naison has got me fighting mad. His totally uncritical and romanticized coverage of boxing is a "knockout." I am still reeling from Naison's jabs. I don't want to cramp his style but maybe he should take off the gloves before "punching out" any more articles.

—George Shekleton  
Toronto, Canada

## Women write, too

FROM READING PETER BOHAN'S piece on American fiction (ITT, Mar. 29) one would get the impression that women as a gender class do not exist, and that women, lo and behold, do not write.

Three things:

1. Drugstores are not peddling exclusively pap material. Rita Mae Brown's *Rubyfruit Jungle* and Marge Piercy's *Woman at the Edge of Time* are right there next to Harold Robbins on the five-and-ten shelf. Literature with unabashed political and feminist themes is becoming more available. Oh, the same old crap is there, but changes are happening, though certainly not out of the benevolence of publishing houses.

2. Mr. Bohan, women write. A lot, and very well in many cases. Writers such as Marge Piercy, Margaret Atwood, Erica Jong, Anais Nin, and Rita Mae Brown cannot be left out of any analysis of current American fiction. More important: literature cannot be evaluated merely by what endures. Had Hitler's dreams been realized "Mein Kampf" would be the continual vogue. Endurance is more likely a factor of a book's ability to reflect well a certain part of American consciousness—but not every bit of American consciousness deserves to live on.

—Earl Pike  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Tipping & stiffing

RATING PEOPLE BY HOW WELL they tip is a favorite pastime of workers who earn tips. (Now I rate everybody by whether they are a yes vote or a no vote.) Here's my informal rating: (courtesy and amount of trouble correlate with good tips.)

Group A: at least 20 percent or more (overtipping is not offensive). 1) gamblers (you can tell—they don't wear ties and they leave \$2 bills); 2) blue collar workers and service workers; 3) business executives (they draw on the table) and union officials (they don't wear ties or vests and they ask how many people work in the back).

Group B—at least 15 percent or more. 4) young couples (high school or blue collar; the girl has a corsage); 5) politicians, gangsters, policemen, salesmen, organizers, middle-management and other petty-authority figures.

Group C—10 percent, more or less, probably less, but you can be surprised. 6) old people (except old socialists, who are in group B5); 7) families (the only reason they tip is out of guilt).

Group D—cheap. 8) single white women (unless they are regular customers, then they are C7 or even B5); 9) groups of professionals (separate checks), white collar workers (separate checks); 10) minority women (unless they run a government agency, then they are B5).

Group X—stiff. 11) foreigners (rich

ones; the poor ones eat at their relatives); 12) students; 13) graduate students; 14) graduate students at the U. of Chicago; 15) groups of students; 16) freaks (hippies) and children under 14.

In all categories, the poor tip as good or better than the rich.

Artists are not included, because they are too poor or too cheap to stay in hotels or eat out; so you can imagine how they tip. Believe it or not they do leave you a drawing.

As you can see, the list is in inverse order of oppression, sort of. Do oppressed groups tend to be cheap? Is there a right-to-stiff? Do tipping behaviors correlate positively (or negatively) to attitudes toward money? sex? politics? If there is a good reader response to this issue maybe IN THESE TIMES can get a grant.

—M.B. Guinan  
Chicago

## Too simple

FOR KEN CUMMINS TO DESCRIBE Frank Snapp simply as a disgruntled former senior analyst for the CIA (ITT, Mar. 21) is an insult to history and the people of Vietnam. While I fully support Snapp's right to publish *Decent Interval*, his book and current problems must be viewed within their historical context.

Snapp is disgruntled not because the U.S. was involved in Southeast Asia, but because it lost the war. His thesis is that with better planning and clearer lines of communication, the U.S. should and could have won (for this alone I would find it difficult to rate him as much of an analyst).

Snapp was one of hundreds of college students recruited directly by CIA off American campuses in 1968. An admitted draft dodger who joined the Agency to avoid military service, his role as an interrogator for South Vietnam's National Interrogation Center and his intimate knowledge of the murders of thousands of "suspected" NVA sympathizers would rank him high on a list of suspected war criminals.

There is a lot to be learned from *Decent Interval* about incursions into the affairs of the third world (obviously why CIA is so upset) and Snapp's right to publish should be supported. The problem I have is finding enough empathy to support Frank Snapp the human being.

—Bruce Beyer  
Buffalo, N.Y.

## Lies, omissions, gullibility

IT'S WITH SINCERE REGRET that I cannot resubscribe. My original decision to subscribe was based on my respect for several of your personnel and your first few issues.

While your average generally has ranged from unexciting to, often, superlative and invaluable, I have been consistently distressed by your implacable anti-Israel bias. Page 8 of your March 8 issue was absolutely the last straw.

Lies, omissions, gullibility, half-truths; your seeming determination to cling to your prejudices has finally called your judgment in all areas into question.

—Neil Rest  
Chicago

## The Socialist Labor Party

ACCORDING TO THE HARRIS survey, the number of people who call themselves Democrats is down to 43 percent, 22 percent Republicans, and 29 percent independents. In April of 1977 the Dems had 48 percent and in August of the same year they were down to 45 percent. The Reps keep going down hill.

The largest number of independent voters now are in the Midwest where 37 percent call themselves that way, 34 percent are Democrats, and 24 percent are Republicans.

The most independent voters are in the age between 18 and 29.

How many independent voters there are who look with favor on the Socialist Labor party goal for a socialist society is anybody's guess.

However, that more and more voters are not giving their support to the two major capitalist parties does seem to indicate a desire for change and that's worth noting.

It will be of interest to ITT readers that the Socialist Labor party has been around a long time as it ran its first presidential campaign on a revolutionary working class program back in 1892. The SLP was founded by Daniel De Leon on its modern basis in 1890 and is the original party of socialism in the U.S.

—Nathan Pressman, organizer  
Section Hudson Valley SLP  
Ellenville, N.Y.

## Correction

PLEASE CORRECT OUR ADDRESS for information on our film *In the Best Interests of the Children* (ITT, Mar. 8). It is

Iris Films  
Box 5353  
Berkeley, CA 94705

Also, the photo credit for our photo on your back page: Photo by Frances Reid of Iris Films.

—Liz Stevens  
Iris Films, Berkeley, Calif.

## Old, but not retired

WE HAVE LOOKED WITH JAUN-diced eyes at all new publications since the "old" *Guardian* changed to hard rock Marxism and several other pseudo versions of new left credos. A friend gave us several old copies of ITT recently and we have been delighted. So here's our check and good luck from two old but not retired progressives.

—Evelyn & Henry Pearlman  
West Palm Beach, Fla.

# DIALOG

## The real "Max Bitterman" caricatured in Gornick book

From one of the "exes," thanks for the review of Vivian Gornick's "The Romance of American Communism" (ITT, Mar. 15). And special thanks to reviewer Maurice Isserman for not accepting the book's characterization of "Max Bitterman."

For what undoubtedly were reasons of tact and decency the reviewer did not name Joseph Starobin, the man for whom Gornick used the "Bitterman" pseudonym. Since Joe is dead, those of us who knew him ought to say something about his portrayal as a totally unkind boor with the political thinking of a John Bircher. Gornick should welcome the correction, since her laudable aim, partly realized, was to shed light on the Communist experience through the dimension of the people involved.

That Joe Starobin would sum up his thinking about communism and his own past with "Communism was the work of the devil. Do you believe in the devil, young lady?" is so grotesque that one's every instinct cries not to dignify it with a response. But there it is in print, and one must try.

I worked with Joe for many years on the *Daily Worker*, knew him and his wife Norma as friends and spent time with them socially almost up to his final hospitalization.

Joe could be ingratiatingly professorial, and did indeed like to hold forth. He was also gentle and courteous—almost courtly—perhaps especially with those who did not share his views. He always probed keenly for contending opinions. "What do you think about this proposition...?" was as typical a conversational approach by Joe as anything in the English language.

He could justly be called the American CP's first Eurocommunist. He was well ahead of most of us in sensing our confusion of international socialist brotherhood with Mother Russia's national needs, in being willing to face the gruesome distortions of socialism in Moscow, and in perceiving the need for American Communists to start doing their own hard thinking. His book *Paris to Peking* in 1955, a year before Khrushchev blew the whistle on Stalin, helped start that process.

Yet Starobin was never simplistically bitter about the past. He honored the motivation of most American Communists and the achievements of many. He maintained a keen, scholarly interest in what he saw as hopeful developments within CPs in Europe, and in the new groupings here reaching experimentally toward valid American socialist thinking and programs. In fact, I thought he gave too much weight to the possible relevance and contributions of old leftists like ourselves to the new socialist stirrings.

The "Max Bitterman" portrait is so ludicrously alien to the real person that one has to grapple with the question of what was eating Gornick. Perhaps the trickle of a clue can be detected in her reporting, straightly and angrily, that when Joe came home the first evening of her visit he said: "Well, young lady, did you make yourself useful this afternoon? Laura [Norma], has she been useful or has she spent the day being a social parasite like most young people today?"

Anyone who for a moment would believe that Joe Starobin could say such things seriously to a guest has to be humorless. Her use twice in the chapter of the image of being "manipulated" suggests a possible open-nerve feminism reacting furiously to male supremacy attitudes, understandable enough, but also perhaps disorienting.

Well, with no malice toward the author, it needs saying that the "Max Bitterman" portrait is an obscene caricature of the real Joe Starobin. It needs saying not only to set the record straight for Joe's sake, but because Gornick is dealing with the question of what kind of people, with what motivations, become committed to fundamental change. Joe Starobin was an important figure in the CP's doomed struggle to evolve.

—Lester Rodney  
Torrance, Calif.

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Roberta Lynch

## Pointed view

## Whatever happened to sisterhood?

Books on and by the "new woman" have been erupting with the rapidity of gunfire over the last few years—frequently occupying places in the best seller list and even edging out gothic romances in the supermarket paperback racks.

I have read nearly all of them, sometimes curiously, sometimes dutifully, occasionally with real pleasure. Generally, they have left me feeling frustrated that the energy and vision initially generated by the women's movement should be so ineptly or erroneously translated into intimate stories of women's lives. Lately, though, there's another aspect that's struck me.

In the past month I've been through Sara Davidson's *Loose Change*, Erica Jong's *How To Save Your Own Life*, Marge Piercy's *The High Cost of Living*, and Marilyn French's *The Women's Room*. (Also, Gael Greene's *Blue Skies, No Candy*; but despite its endorsements from Steinem and Freidan, that one is more anti-woman than new woman, in my book.)

In some ways it's not fair to lump all these books together: the quality of writing varies widely among them, as does the feminist sensibility. Yet after a while I couldn't help but get the feeling that I was reading one long novel. And, in fact, that I've been reading this same novel for several years.

The women who occupy its pages are almost invariably white, middle-class, and seekers of the self. In nearly every case, the women's movement or even the left touches their lives, at times very deeply, but usually without acknowledgment.

Their struggles to, as Jong puts it, "save their own lives" seem to leave them completely unconcerned with larger social issues, except insofar as their personal dynamics can be writ large as a story of our times.

It is this self-absorption that I have found so annoying. It's as though this novel has been based on the letter but not the spirit of the feminist slogan "the personal is political." An injunction coined to express women's journey to consciousness and action through an understanding of how political factors permeate the most private aspects of our lives has become a kind of justification for a concern with self-discovery that borders on the obsessive.

(Even Marge Piercy's book, whose central character is a lesbian from a working class background, seems to have gotten backed into this particular corner.)

Yet there is another side to this continuing saga that must be noted as well: the very desperateness of the search, a sense that something is very awry in people's lives. Gone is the initial elation that was part of the discovery of collectivity in the women's movement. These books miss the feeling that so many women had that they were reclaiming themselves, getting to know their bodies and being able to speak their minds. This sense of freedom may have been only temporary, but it was not illusory. It was rooted in a tremendous optimism about the potential for change and grew out of a sense that such change was a shared and historical process.

Due in some measure to the lack of so-

cial or institutional support systems for its values, the women's movement has not been able to make good on its original promises of personal fulfillment. And I realized in reading this latest batch of books that women really have been thrown back on their individual resources to an alarming degree.

This may go a way toward explaining why these books—rather than an inspiring sequel to *Sisterhood is Powerful*—are topping the best sellers list. Their appeal is not solely, or even primarily, in their eroticism, as some claim. It is rather in the fact that their obsessions are shared by millions of people (including many feminists) who have not found a social vision that has the power to engage them fully or that seems to offer the potential to transform their lives for the better.

This long novel that I've been reading has at its core a longing for stability, a deep desire for human connection. And it is the irony of its self-absorption that the wandering roads it takes through the male and female psyches all seem to be dead-ends in this respect. The books are all permeated by a pessimism about the permanence of human relationships, despite the most passionate love affairs or the strongest bonds of friendship.

Sara Davidson says of the aftermath of the '60s: "The center held, but we're all in pieces. We're like loose change." Davidson may be right about the "we," but she's wrong about the center." It didn't hold, despite the fact that neither '60s values nor left politics have come to predominate. The "center" itself is washed by changing tides, and lacks any

clear sense of direction or meaning.

It is women whose new perceptions and quests have been so potent a force in stimulating such change. It should come as no surprise then that it is women who are living at the edge of it; whose writings, however superficially, mirror it; and who scan the pages of this ongoing novel with the intensity of a radar device searching out their own lives.

These books seldom reflect the particular situations of minority or working class women—their differing pressures, their more limited options. But they do seem to be speaking to a common experience that binds women in many different life situations. There is in their pages a recognition that we can never really return to the way things were—and that we wouldn't want to. But there is also a longing for a new "center," for human relationships that are caring and constant, for changes in men commensurate with the passages that women have made.

It is no coincidence that this intensifying of personal trauma comes at a time of political confusion and setbacks. This is not to say that there is some simple equation between political activity and personal fulfillment. But it is to remind ourselves that the personal dilemmas that so often appear as private and individual are in fact bound to larger social factors. And it is to suggest that there are few genuine alternatives for how we live our lives without making changes in the world in which we live.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer in the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.



Alvah Bessie

## Considered opinion

## To hell in a hand basket

If anyone were inclined to demonstrate that our so-called free (free enterprise? sh! capitalist?) society is going to hell in a hand-basket, she or he would have to do no more than select at random from the news of any two months those "stories" that have made the press, and display them in simple sequence to the astonished eye.

- Seeking peace, President Sadat of Egypt goes to Jerusalem to make direct contact with Israeli leaders; there is much rejoicing, fervent embraces, dinners, speeches, smiles and optimistic statements.

- Reciprocating the Sadat gesture, Israeli Prime Minister Begin, one-time terrorist and a hard-nose right-winger, flies to Egypt. Smiles, mutual embraces, dinners, toasts, bright and optimistic speeches; all is love and mutually semitic brotherhood.

Then the whole "detente" falls apart because Israeli will not agree to relinquish the Arab lands it has taken, nor will Sadat, speaking for the Arabs, agree to anything less. Sadat and Begin make regular shuttle-flights to see President Peanut; both express their disappointment in him and he expresses it with them. In the meantime, he announces and defends his determination to sell U.S. arms to Israel and Arab states, to help "preserve peace."

- A group of Palestinian guerillas land in Israel, capture a bus and kill 36 innocent men, women and children. (Later, one of them admits it was a mistake.)

- Israel promptly launches an invasion of Lebanon, alleged base of the guerillas, shelling and bombing cities and towns with American armament, killing hundreds of men, women and children and

sending into headlong flight over 250,000 more, not one of whom had anything whatsoever to do with the raid on Israel.

This was large-scale insanity. On a smaller scale but equally symptomatic of the disease technically called *Cash nexus* that afflicts the "free world":

- At the Las Vegas Hilton, Liberace "rides onto the stage in a sequined Rolls, hopping out of the back seat in ermine with chubby fingers weighted with diamonds. His tux is a trapezoid of silver sequins as he steps to a piano made of mirrors on a stage filled with lighted Christmas trees... [Then] It's time for the red, white and blue Mardi Gras costume enshrouded with white maribou feathers. The lights go out while the band strikes up 'Stars and Stripes Forever,' Lee lights up in firecrackers and Roman candles, and then flies across the ceiling screaming 'Mary Poppins, eat your heart out!' The audience, limp from hysteria, eats it like milk and cookies. It's awful..." (Rex Reed, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York News*)

- Off the Labrador coast the annual "harvest" of baby harp-seals has started and of the 180,000 "permitted" to be slaughtered, only 43,000 are killed in the first ten days. Even so, the hunt is stopped at one point for two days—so more baby seals can be born. A picture of a mother seal covering with her own body the skinned carcass of her dead pup, made papers from coast to coast. The caption said she was protecting it—from the photographer.

- In New York City a 13-year-old black youth was seen climbing out of the second-

story window of an empty apartment. The landlord hollered, "Stop!" and when the boy continued to climb down a ladder, he shot him dead with a rifle. Ciprian Septimo—mentally and physically retarded—had not heard the landlord shout... He was also deaf.

- In Germany and in the USA that old-time Nazism is on the rise—"American" Nazis have formed a nation-wide organization; in Germany, nationalism is rising both east and west... The *Christian Science Monitor*, commenting on a BBC film, reports that "At least 200,000 Germans participated directly in the mass murder of 12 million Europeans in the World War II period. About 35,000 of these have been sentenced by courts in communist countries. The vast majority live prosperous lives in West German society. They are businessmen, judges, policemen, civil servants." ...At a meeting of Xerox executives in New York, a man dressed in a Nazi uniform slammed a table with his riding crop and shouted, "Ve vill kill IBM!" Silence from 60 salesmen, many of them Jewish, greeted his charade.

- In Switzerland, the body of Charlie Chaplin is stolen from its grave.

Discouraged? This entire issue of *ITT* could be filled with similar items, collected in the last six months. Are they cancelled out or counter-balanced by such stories as these?

- In France, Italy and Spain left-wing parties are growing stronger all the time and the ideas of socialism are gaining more adherents daily, in every country in the world.

- In the USA our people are fighting the "American" Nazis wherever they ap-

pear and are prepared to challenge their "right" to advocate the murder of blacks, Jews, leftwingers or anyone else who does not please their Neanderthal mentalities.

- Last month saw the indictment of the Olin Company and three of its former officials for concealing the massive dumping of deadly mercury into the Niagara River... Eastman Kodak is appealing a jury award of \$113 million in anti-trust damages to a small New York firm the photographic giant had damaged by its monopolistic practices... An organization calling itself the American Association of Retired Persons (a "non-profit" organization), is being investigated under the suspicion that it is nothing more than a front to improperly sell insurance to the elderly by using mail subsidies that cost the American taxpayer an estimated \$10 million a year.

- The popularity of President Peanut sinks weekly, rises a point or two, then drops like a stone; people feel they have been conned again, are looking for something—anything better.

- The U.S. Department of Justice indicts former Rep. Richard T. Hanna (D-CA) for conspiracy to commit bribery and defraud the government in the South Korean influence-buying scandal.

- Two officials of the other ITT, that great monopoly, were also accused of perjury for their testimony about that corporation's involvement in the 1970 presidential elections in Chile.

Alvah Bessie is a novelist, critic and screenwriter who was involved in the Spanish Civil War as a soldier of the Republic and was one of the Hollywood 10.



# PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

## Socialist strategy needs unromantic realism

By Harry C. Boyte

Derek Shearer, speaking for the strategy of "economic democracy" developed in the Hayden Senate campaign and the Campaign for Economic Democracy (ITE, Feb. 8) maintains that the concept offers a popular, American alternative to the language of socialism, which will continue to have a "bad name" throughout our lifetimes. Sidney Lens (ITE, Mar. 1), charging that such an approach is a California-grown cop out, suggests that only a socialist movement focused on dismantling the national security state-military apparatus will suffice. The constituencies both represent and the programs they espouse will be important strands of a new politics. Yet neither offers much hope of synthesizing a successful movement as a whole: CED candidates, despite their useful work in raising issues of corporate power and programs like solar energy, have in two years lost again and again against mainstream and liberal Democrats whose own political base and appeal have been eroding. And the networks of peace and civil liberties groups have scarcely been able to check the growth of a right-wing militarist force in American politics, much less make progress towards dismantling the nuclear balance of terror.

The question remains: how to fuse the discrete strands of protest into a new oppositional bloc with the imaginative power, resources and appeal to check the corporatist crusade against reform and inaugurate a new era of progressive and humane change?

There are indeed stirrings of a majoritarian movement with the potential to achieve such objectives. Its underlying animus, born in the '60s and matured and spread through new groups in the '70s, is the democratic hope that people can control the institutions—political and social and economic—in which they live. Indeed,

that they have a *right* to control them. The democratic impulse is now appearing in all major industrialized nations. The most creative and nondogmatic elements of both socialist and communist traditions are now seeking to cohere and build upon it for a transformation beyond the welfare state to socialism. Our prospects for socialist intervention in the democratic movement are more modest in the U.S., but there is nonetheless a vital need for a unified American socialist movement to help give program and direction to the diverse forces of democratic struggle.

### The Democratic movement.

Oppositional consciousness does indeed incubate in the alternative institutions sketched by Shearer, as well as in the pacifist, religious and liberal peace groups that Lens is helping to build. Yet a majority movement for basic change requires much deeper and broader roots than can be found in either strand of protest. An authentic people's movement not only builds new institutions or operates from a base of dissident reformers, but also must tap the changes and aspirations of people in the primary institutions of their lives.

I was constantly struck by such a process as I worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE in the civil rights movement of the early '60s. In small, rural southern towns, ordinary men and women acquired amazing strength, collective spirit and courage through exactly such a transformation in daily life, in the process changing themselves and building a movement that could withstand the full force of the dominant powers and culture. Eventually the movement subsided with its goals only partially realized. As Martin Luther King realized shortly before his death, only a strategy that also addressed economic relationships and built alliances with white working and poor people could further advance the movement's goals. Yet the achieve-

ments of the civil rights revolt should not (as is sometimes now fashionable) be belittled or derided: for all their partial and contradictory character, they nonetheless worked permanent changes in the very stuff of social relations throughout the South. The foundations now exist for that majority movement.

In fact, the largest constituencies for change today are not mentioned by Shearer or Lens, but involve insurgency among millions of people in those institutions at the base of society. For example, the women's movement, changing the very fabric of social and family life, has developed rapidly through the decade, most recently resulting in such working class groups as the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, Women Employed and 9 to 5. Throughout such organizations, the democratic theme is an underlying constant.

Similarly, through the towns and cities in the '70s neighborhood revolts have mushroomed, often uniting blue collar whites and blacks for the first time. Like the women's movement, the scale of the neighborhood movement is immense: a *Christian Science Monitor* series last fall estimated that one out of ten Americans are actively involved in some phase of the ferment. And the animating principle is the same. "We are building democracy, you know," said Geno Baroni, a Catholic priest who has worked with hundreds of ethnic groups, told Congress. Finally, the insurgent impulse has spilled into the American workplace—most recently reflected in the dramatic miners' strike.

Such diverse activism has begun to find fruition in a new generation of politicians, like Barbara Mikulski, Nicholas Carbone, Ruth Messinger, James Bond, Dennis Kucinich, and the hundreds of candidates backed by groups like ACORN and COPS in San Antonio. Such politicians communicate through channels like the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, the Community Development Society of America, even the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Their politics are different than traditional left (or "economic democracy") appeals: seeking ways to give direct aid to citizens' organizing efforts, advancing programs for opening up, decentralizing and democratizing public services and government as well as economic institutions. And the movement's implicit themes often find their clearest expression through such figures. "I don't like labels," Nicholas Carbone, of Hartford, told me last fall. "I'd just call my politics simply democratic."

Indeed, the relative success of such citizen-based politics suggests a basic axiom of the present political environment: calls

for expanding the areas of public initiative can only win in the face of the corporatist attack when they are coupled to programs for democratizing the internal structure of a government which people are convinced *itself* thwarts the democratic impulse and shows contempt for the popular imagination. "The conviction is widespread that a broad and ever-present chasm has opened between what the people really want and what the government normally delivers," said pollster Daniel Yankelovich, summarizing many surveys.

### Toward a socialist strategy.

A strategy for American socialism must begin with unromantic realism. We are not going to win a majority in Congress—nor fight directly for socialism—in the foreseeable future. Yet American socialism is nonetheless undeniably beginning to stir to life again, and it is doing so against the background of vast subterranean discontent among the American people.

A strategy for American socialism should have several stages: 1) In 1979, a unity convention that brings together the diverse groups and networks of democratic socialism. Such a unity convention—an American parallel to the process initiated by such figures as Santiago Carrillo and Olof Palme in Europe—would found a pluralist socialist organization organized around a vision of authentically democratic socialism and a strategy for building the oppositional, democratic movement.

2) A strategy for building the infrastructure of the democratic movement. A new socialist organization should not isolate itself from the bulk of activists who remain in the two-party system (by proclaiming itself a "third party") nor see its role in narrowly electoral terms. It should see its function as building the spirit, unity, organizations and culture of the democratic movement as a whole, both within the formal political process (especially the Democratic party) and outside.

3) Finally, a plan for 1980. In the elections of that year, an opportunity of great importance will appear to give the movement increased self-consciousness and visibility through a challenge to pro-corporate Democrats. The slogan for such a campaign—in which a unified, respected socialist presence could play a helpful, creative part—suggests itself: "You're not a Democrat if you sell out democracy." And such a political battle in 1980, if undertaken with skill, realism and connectedness to the diverse elements of the movement itself, could well usher in a new period in American history.

Harry Boyte is a member of the national board of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

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# CLONING

Scientific breakthrough  
or the most  
appalling medical experiment  
in history?

By Ted Howard & Jeremy Rifkin

**T**HE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY'S trade magazine *Publisher's Weekly* is hardly the place one would expect to find the official announcement of one of the biggest events in human history. Yet the Feb. 13 issue of *PW* contained a full-page advertisement for an upcoming book under the astounding headline, "A Human Baby Created in the Laboratory Is Now 14 Months Old."

According to the ad, the book, *In His Image: The Cloning of a Man*, by prize-winning science writer David Rorvik, would detail the first successful attempt at asexual human production. As the J.P. Lippincott Co.'s advertisement said, "Some people will hail it as a miracle; others will denounce it as sacrilegious tampering with a natural, even holy, process. But there is no doubt that by June everyone will be talking about it."

If Rorvik's story is true, genetic engineers have made an enormous breakthrough. A human being has literally been manufactured out of the single cell of one man. The child has no "mother" in the biological sense. In fact, when it is grown to adulthood, it will appear to be a "carbon copy"—in every physical sense, right down to its fingertips—of the man whose cell was artificially "tricked" into developing into an identical person. And if true, the door has been opened to the possibility of cloning not just one duplicate of a person, but literally millions of identical copies.

Once, of course, all of this could have been dismissed as science fiction. But no more. A number of years ago, scientists developed a cloning technique that could asexually reproduce many copies of a frog. There have been reports of a type of cloning performed with mice and rabbits. Some of the nation's top scientists, including Nobel laureate Joshua Lederberg of Stanford University and James Watson of Harvard, have predicted that human cloning could take place within the next ten to 25 years. According to Rorvik and his publisher, researchers somehow have managed to make a bold leap forward ahead of schedule.

Both Rorvik and Lippincott say they stand by the story, but neither is willing to reveal evidence supporting their claim that a clone had been produced. The book is not scheduled to be released until June, and even then pseudonyms will be used to protect the scientists, cell donor and child involved.

Lippincott is one of the oldest and most reputable publishing firms in the country, and Rorvik has his own credentials—which include the first Pulitzer Traveling Fellowship award, several books on genetic research, dozens of articles that have appeared in publications ranging from *Science Digest* to *Time* and the *New York Times Magazine*.

## Fact or hoax?

Gradually at first, and then with gathering speed, the story has spread. Alarmed scientists like Dr. Liebe F. Cavaliere, a molecular biologist at the Sloan-Kettering Cancer Institute, typified the reaction of genetic researchers when he told a report-



No one has located the baby,  
the people who arranged  
for the cloning or the scientists  
who performed the work.

er, "If this is not a hoax, it is the most appalling, dangerous medical experiment in history."

Other scientists have echoed his fear, and some are now calling for legislation to make human asexual reproduction illegal.

As of this writing, no one has located the baby, the individuals who arranged for the experiment or the scientists who participated. There is still no absolute proof that, in fact, the whole affair is not just an elaborate hoax. Some factors, however, have come to light:

- According to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Rorvik told a group of students a month before any controversy had developed around his book that several years ago a wealthy bachelor in his 60s (whom Rorvik has code-named "Billy") came to him and asked him to help arrange an experiment to clone himself. The man reportedly told Rorvik he had come to him because he was familiar with Rorvik's writings on the subject of cloning and knew that the writer was on intimate terms with many of the leading scientists in the field.

Rorvik told the students, "I was stunned by his proposal... I went through a long period of serious thought about it." In the end, he says, he agreed to set up the cloning attempt. "Billy" provided the funds.

- Dr. Landrum Shettles, a top gynecologist who formerly was with Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, as well as attending physician at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, has told the *New York Post* that he was personally contacted by Rorvik in the summer of 1975 and asked to help arrange the experiment. Shettles, who now runs his own fertility research clinic, is a pioneer in the field of embryo implantation, a key procedure to the cloning experiment. He is also a close friend of Rorvik's and has written a book with him on new methods to pre-select the sex of a baby.

Shettles says that he has developed a technique that he believes will result in successful human cloning, but he claims that for various reasons he did not participate in the final experiment. According to Shettles, "I didn't do the cloning, no.

But it's not a hoax. I'd stake my life on the authenticity of it."

- Top researchers in the field of cloning are divided about the possibility that someone has actually developed the technique at this time. Dr. Stanley Falkow, a University of Washington geneticist and micro-biologist, says, "It is possible in theory. If it has finally been attested, I would not be surprised."

Another researcher, Dr. Peter Hoppe of the Jackson Laboratory in Bar Harbor, Maine, who has made key advances in mammalian cloning, says, "This is what a great number of people would love to be able to do. No one in the world, to my knowledge, has been able to do it. I don't want to dispute that the human experiment has been done, but I'm just highly skeptical that anyone could have done it without word getting out."

Dr. Robert S. Krooth, a professor of human genetics at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, asserts simply that "It does sound like a hoax."

- Rep. Paul Rogers (D-FL) has announced he will convene congressional hearings to look into the matter.

- The People's Business Commission has filed a Freedom of Information Act suit with the Federal District Court in New York City requesting all information on government funding of asexual human reproduction experiments, including all research involved with cloning, *in vitro* (test tube) fertilization and gestation, and embryo implantation.

Several scientists at Harvard and MIT have joined in the suit, arguing that it is nearly inconceivable that a successful human cloning experiment could have been conducted without at least some federal monies being involved. The files that may result from this suit may provide important new leads in tracking down the true story of this clonal experimentation.

## Reality in our lifetime.

Whether or not Rorvik's story can be verified, most experts in the field agree that, unless society makes a decision to forbid such work, human cloning will become a reality in our lifetime. How will it affect and shape our futures?

One frightening forecast comes from Dr. James Bonner, a leading biologist at the California Institute of Technology. Several years ago, in a paper published by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Bonner wrote of the potential for human cloning:

"The logical outcome of activities in modifying the genetic makeup of man is to reach the state where couples will want their children to have the best possible genes. Sexual procreation will be virtually ended. One suggestion has been to remove genetic material from each individual immediately after birth and then promptly sterilize that individual.

"During the individual's lifetime, records will be kept of accomplishments and characteristics. After the individual's death, a committee decides if the accomplishments are worthy of procreation into other individuals. If so, genetic material would be removed from the depository and stimulated to clone a new individual. If the committee decides the genetic material is unworthy of procreation, it is



## It is my hope that by bringing forward details about human cloning I can alert the public to dangers of recombinant research.

destroyed... The question is indeed not a moral one but a temporal one—when do we start?"

If Rorvik's account is proven true, we have already started. In any case, the future potential for cloning and the artificial creation of life already challenges our value system.

What becomes of the family as society's fundamental unit when human infants no longer need families to be produced? How will society regard those individuals who are produced in the laboratory rather than by the normal process of sexual reproduction? What are the legal rights of a clone? Who should be allowed to engage in this technique? What will we do with cloning experiments—still human

beings—that fail because of a research mistake? What are the potentials for grave social abuse?

As for the first human clone and the claims of David Rorvik, there still remain many questions. Within the next few weeks the world may know the full story.

Either way, the current furor revolving around the possible existence of a 14-month-old cloned baby has served notice on mankind of the mind-boggling possibilities that lie just ahead.

*Ted Howard and Jeremy Rifkin are co-directors of the Peoples Business Commission and co-authors of a book on human genetic engineering, Who Should Play God? (Dell/Delacourt, 1977).*



CLONES, YOU IDIOT... I SAID CLONES.

## Rorvik defends book

David Rorvik's book, *In His Image: The Cloning of a Man*, asserting that a child has actually been created in a test tube, has stirred a storm of scientific debate. Scientists and other interested parties (see accompanying story) have argued that cloning is impossible or, if possible, ethically questionable. In the following article Rorvik replies to some of his critics and outlines the reasons he chose to be a part of an experiment in cloning. Rorvik is a science journalist whose specialty is experimental medicine. The recipient of the first Pulitzer Traveling Fellowship and a Guggenheim Foundation grant to study the politics of cancer, he is also the author of *Brave New Baby* and *As Man Becomes Machine*.

By David Rorvik

**A** HUMAN BEING HAS BEEN cloned. I make this assertion in my book, *In His Image, The Cloning of a Man*, and I stand behind that claim today. I am not, however, an advocate of human cloning. My decision to become involved in this project came after months of soul searching and careful consideration of the many bio-ethical issues at stake. These moral issues occupy the first half of my book.

It finally became evident to me that this project would eventually proceed with or without me, and so I consented to assist on the condition that, though I could protect the identities of those in-

volved, I would be permitted to report some of the details of this work. It is my hope that the public might thus be encouraged to participate in the decision-making process that, ideally, will lead to the wise regulation of all forms of genetic engineering.

Preceding publication of my book, a number of scientific authorities took the position that human cloning, while perhaps not always to be desired, at least posed little threat to humanity. An editorial in *Science* magazine in 1974, for example, called the prospect of human cloning "hardly terrifying" and added that if it were finally prohibited by law, "an occasional violation" of that law "would not shake the heavens." Yet my claim that a genetic replication of a man has now been created through the stimulated growth of a single body cell rather than through the union of an egg and sperm cell has unleashed a furor practically unprecedented in science.

### Why the questions?

Why are some of the same scientists who recently seemed to view so serenely the prospect of human cloning so upset over the possibility today? Why are some other scientists who just in the last few years predicted that human cloning would soon be accomplished now so intent on making the public believe that this cannot happen for years or even decades?

An answer to both these questions has been suggested by science writer Judith Randal. In a long article in the *Washing-*

*ton Post* Randal submits evidence that though some scientists challenge the claims made in my book, all of the major elements needed to clone a human exist in laboratories today, and in her words "have been lying around—some of them for years—waiting to be assembled." But these facts and others, she adds, some scientists of stature have been reluctant to admit. "In fact," she says in her *Post* article, "the scientific establishment seems to have closed ranks—possibly fearing public revulsion and legislative reaction—to deny the suggestion that human cloning could occur."

Randal cites as an example the recent statements of Nobel Prize winning molecular biologist James Watson, noting that he recently appeared on network television, "all but insisting that the whole thing was out of the question." Yet he thought enough of the possibility to have written in 1971 an article called "Moving Toward the Clonal Man." In it he called attention to "unexpectedly rapid progress" in cell fusion and embryo transplant work of a sort detailed in my book, and chided those among his colleagues who believed that cloning was still only a remote possibility.

If one is tempted to ask, "Will the real James Watson please stand up?" the same question would have to be asked of other scientists who have recently done similar about-faces.

Many of these scientists, I believe, are not really so doubtful about my claim as they are fearful that if the public believes me, then their own research into far more complex, far more promising but also far more perilous areas of "recombinant DNA" will come under new public scrutiny, and as the *Post* points out, perhaps legislative control. The public at the present time has only the dimmest awareness of what recombinant DNA is all about.

Human cloning is dramatic and intriguing but as yet it is, as the *Science* editorial points out, of little importance alongside other developments in genetic engineering. In their recombinant DNA work scientists already are splicing together the genes of unlike species to create new life forms in the laboratory. The new research is widely expected to create a new multi-billion dollar industry and anything that might upset the public, draw attention to new research, or generally "rock the boat" is, of course, feared by those involved in the research.

Scientific breakthroughs in molecular biology in the last two years have led us to the brink of a power more awesome than anything promised by discoveries of the so-called "Atomic Age." As *Scientific American* summed it up in 1977, "For the first time, man has developed a capacity for almost absolute control over the material in his genes." That man can now begin to truly take charge of his own evolution and remake himself and his world in the image of his own desiring must be accounted the most revolutionary development in the history of the world.

### Close calls.

Unfortunately, many scientists working in this field are of the opinion that the public is not smart enough to be fully informed of what is transpiring or to participate in the life and death decisions that

are already daily being made in laboratories around the world. In short they want to work unencumbered by public doubts and fears. Yet as *Science* magazine has acknowledged, there have already been frightful "close calls" in the laboratory in creation of new life forms.

Researchers at General Electric Research and Development Center in Schenectady, N.Y., not long ago created an E-coli bacterium with a new gene using some of these newly recombinant DNA techniques. The new gene was coded for production of cellulase, an enzyme that breaks down cellulose, a plant protein that is normally indigestible by humans.

Apparently the GE people thought that their new bug, quietly nestled in the human gut, might enable us to eat hay and grass, a possibility that, however unpalatable, might ease some of the world food shortage and might also make feasible a multi-million dollar market in new food products. It began to develop signs, however, that the breakdown products of cellulose might be imperfectly absorbed in the lower intestine, resulting in a gas build-up and perpetual, possibly lethal, stomach upset. There was more to this than just breaking down cellulose. An E-coli that was only half-way capable of processing plant protein could be a very dangerous bug.

"Should such an E-coli gain a selective advantage," *Science* magazine noted, "and spread throughout the population, the result might be a large number of people suffering from chronic, maybe fatal, diarrhea." GE destroyed this laboratory creation before it could escape. But there are bound to be other "close calls," and those working in this area particularly now that the courts have ruled that these new life forms are patentable, will be more intent upon realizing quick profits than in working cautiously in the public interest.

The point must be made here that several of the same scientists, who in an effort to quiet public concern, characterize human cloning as too difficult or too dangerous to be accomplished at this time are actually engaged in research that requires far more skill and entails more danger than cloning. Those who dare to question the wisdom of the more dangerous recombinant work—and their number includes Nobel Prize winners—have been characterized by James Watson (as quoted in *Time* magazine) as "shits," "kooks," and "incompetent."

I stated in my book that it was my hope that by bringing forward such details as the first cloning of a human being I might alert the public to the less dramatic but actually far more important recombinant research that poses such far reaching perils to the future of mankind. No one should be surprised, therefore, that I applaud the action of three noted scientists—Dr. Efrom Signer of MIT, Dr. Jonathan Beckwith of Harvard, and Dr. Lieve Cavaliere of the Sloan Kettering Institute of Cancer Research—who have filed a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit demanding full disclosure of all funding information related to genetic engineering experiments being carried out by government agencies—including the CIA and the Department of Defense. ■



# China

Continued from page 9.

press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the right to strike are all listed as the rights of every citizen. Religious toleration, the return to more formal criminal procedures and the restoration of order throughout the country are also reflected in the new document. There can be no question that many Chinese welcome official declarations against some of the arbitrary actions perpetrated by the "gang of four" and their fol-

lowers. However, Chinese political culture, characterized by the ancient saying "He who wins power is a king, he who loses power is a bandit," is in evidence.

This may be illustrated by reference to one of my own experiences in China during the Cultural Revolution. In fall 1966 I attended a public meeting to hear accusations against Liu Shao-ch'i made by two party cadres who claimed to have been persecuted by the Liu regime. This husband and wife team from Szechwan

province were leading party officials who had backed Mao's policies and were then removed from office and jailed by Liu's officials in Szechwan.

The two became heroes of the Cultural Revolution and subsequently were appointed to leading positions in Szechwan province in the post-Cultural Revolution period. Today, according to the Chinese press, this same couple are being dragged from one "mass struggle" session to another as counterrevolutionaries associated with the "Gang of Four." At least in this instance, political rights are not guaranteed to opponents of those in power.

## Tensions with USSR.

Although there have been great changes made in China's domestic policy, little change can be detected in foreign policy at the moment. Peking's Liaison Office in Washington continues to give official banquets for members of the Committee on the Present Danger, and Hua reported in his speech to the People's Congress that China and the U.S. "have quite a few points in common on some issues in the present international situation." Although, of course, differing on the Taiwan question. The Vietnamese have made veiled attacks on China, declaring that "imperialists and international reactionaries" had armed Cambodia and were behind the Cambodian's refusal to negotiate their border conflict with Vietnam. The Chinese, in return, imply that it is the Vietnamese who are acting as pawns for Soviet hegemonic aspirations in Southeast Asia. There have been reports of clashes between Chinese and Vietnamese on the border between the two countries, but there is no evidence of an open diplomatic break.

Chinese officials in private talks with Americans and Europeans are attempting to stir alarm over what they see as a strategic Soviet pincer movement aimed at the Mideast and Southeast Asia. According to Peking, one arm, based in the Horn of Africa, is aimed at the Mideast, and the other, via Vietnam, threatens all of Southeast Asia.

The Chinese have shipped heavy weapons to the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia because they consider them to be a buffer against Soviet ambitions in Southeast Asia. Chinese officials are telling their counterparts in Washington that China's interest in the Paracel Islands, also claimed by Vietnam and the Philippines, is due not to the oil that may be present there, but to Chinese fears that the islands may be turned into valuable anchorages for the Soviet Pacific fleet.

The Russians, in the meantime, have declared openly that they have no intentions of withdrawing their troops from the Chinese-Soviet border regions because such a move would open the way for

Chinese seizure of disputed territory. The Russians now feel that China no longer poses an ideological threat and are prepared to wait the Chinese out for normalization of relations between the two sovereign states.

In this way, the socialist nations operate under the same laws that govern the international system as a whole, a system first created by the rise of capitalism and the nation state. China has now joined the world system as another relatively cautious, but essentially self-interested great power.

David Milton is co-author with Nancy Milton of *The Wind Will Not Subside*, a study of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

## POLITICAL SURVIVAL IN THESE TIMES

A few weeks ago, the *Guardian*, the "independent radical news weekly" that started publishing in 1948 as an organ of Henry Wallace's Progressive party, sent a letter to its subscribers asking for money to enable the paper to survive its current grave crisis. The letter pointed out that "supplemental income" is indispensable for left newspapers in the U.S., and that the *Guardian's* current crisis was precipitated when "suddenly and without warning" the *Guardian's* program of tours to China and "several thousand subscriptions taken by universities, libraries and other institutions in China" were cancelled.

These cancellations, the *Guardian* said, were the result of "political disagreements between the *Guardian* and the official policy of the People's Republic," which were "exacerbated when the *Guardian* threw open its pages" to a free discussion of Chinese policy.

*In These Times* also requires money above and beyond our operating income, especially in this period when we are trying to reach our initial goal of 28,000 subscribers. But we have never sought, and would not want to rely on a subsidy from any foreign government or party, because to do so would inevitably compromise our independence. More important, we started publishing *ITT* in the belief that there is a potential to develop a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. If we are right, then we must be able to develop sufficient support within this country to survive and prosper. If we are wrong, if we cannot win enough readers and enough financial support to survive, then there is something wrong with our political perspective, and it would be appropriate to reevaluate it.

Of course, we think we are right. But the ultimate determinant of that question will not be our opinion, but what you, our readers and subscribers, think and do.

If you share our view of the importance

of revitalizing the American left, and of the role that *In These Times* can play in doing so, then help us survive and grow.

To meet our 1978 operating deficit we need to raise \$125,000 beyond operating income. So far, we've raised \$57,000 of that. To reach our goal of 28,000 subscribers this year, we plan to mail one million promotional letters. In February and March we mailed 100,000. This direct mail program will require an additional \$125,000. So far, we've received \$21,000 in loans for this fund.

We have had a good response to our mailings so far, but we cannot use the money from these subscriptions for operating expenses because it must go to pay back our promotional loan fund.

So, we need financial help from many more people, and large sums from those who earn above average income.

Here are some of the things you can do:

- 1) Send in a lump sum contribution today. Make it \$5 to \$100, one week's pay—more if you can afford it.
- 2) Become a regular monthly sustainer. Start with your first contribution today. Fill out the blank below and we'll remind you every month.
- 3) If your income or assets are above average, make a large contribution. Consult us about contributing stock, securities or other assets of value.
- 4) Lend money to the paper's Promotional Fund through our Trustees. (Minimum \$1,000). This is a non-interest bearing fund that is managed by outside trustees and is banked independently.
- 5) Organize a fund-raising event in your group or among friends and relatives.
- 6) Solicit contributions, loans and sustainers from others.

If you have any other fund-raising ideas or know of people in other parts of the country to whom we might send sample copies of the paper or our 1978 Report To Friends and Supporters, please call or write Nick Rabkin, our General Manager.

## Sustain Us.

*In These Times* has begun a drive for sustainers—interested supporters who are willing to contribute regularly to help us meet our expenses.

We have established an initial goal of 100 sustainers who will contribute an average of \$15 each month. We are far from that goal, and we are asking you to help us attain it.

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## ART &lt;&gt; ENTERTAINMENT

## MOVIES

*House Calls* fails to leave him laughing**HOUSE CALLS**

Screenplay by Max Shulman,  
Julius Epstein, Alan Mandel  
and Charles Shyer

Directed by Howard Zieff  
With Walter Matthau, Glenda  
Jackson and Art Carney  
Universal Pictures, Rated PG

These days there's an exploitation film for just about every segment of the market. Name the demographic slice, and some sales wizard has devised a scenario to draw dollars out of pockets. Soon, no doubt, we'll have movies for low-tar and nicotine smokers, movies for joggers, movies for women who read *Cosmo* and others for those who don't.

But what about middle America? Where can the staunchly reputable schlock lover go for his cinematic thrills? Well, the California houses are still pumping out detective stories, war movies, westerns and romantic comedies.

*House Calls* is the latest lame entry in the rom-com race. It's a bit short on laughs (you get about ten) and mighty queer on romance. But in these days of dollar decline it may be all the value moviegoers can expect for \$3.75.

The film's comic hand stiffens about half-way through and begins to feel like an elbow in your ribs. The jokes spring out of that bottomless well of humor about the state of professional health care: gags about unnecessary medical treatment, medical incompetence, physicians' greed and power lust, doctor-nurse promiscuity and constipation.

The script (which has been pasted together by two teams of screen writers) also takes pot shots at baseball, the rich, hippies, public TV, waterbeds and gold diggers. It is at its best when it drops dialogue and goes all-out



for slapstick. There is one very funny scene when Glenda Jackson and Walter Matthau try to make love while keeping a foot each on the floor. Matthau is a successfully philandering surgeon, but this is one operation even he can't pull off.

Unfortunately, the wrestling match marks the beginnings of a love affair that's as dull as the film's dishpan color.

If you really must get out of the apartment to see *House Calls*, take along a crossword puzzle and a self-illuminating ballpoint pen.

—Donald Venes

Donald Venes is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

## Censored African film shown

**CEDDO**

Written and directed by Ousmane Sembene

One of the legacies of colonialism in Africa is the vast gulf separating African artists and their audiences. Authors and filmmakers, in particular, form part of the western-educated, monied elite.

Their works are predominantly in English or French, and they must often respond to the demands of foreign-owned or controlled publishers and producers.

Increasingly, the African artist has found him/herself speaking less to the concerns of the masses than to the problems and pre-occupations of other intellectuals.

But some contemporary African radicals have challenged these divisive relationships. Among them is Ousmane Sembene. Largely self-educated, a Marxist, firmly committed to the liberation of all Africans, Sembene's novels and films are set in his native Senegal, either in pre-colonial, colonial, or neo-colonial periods.

The focus of his most recent film, *Ceddo*, is Islam. It sketches in broad strokes the historical process of the religion's encroachment over the indigenous peoples of the Senegambia.

The time is roughly the first quarter of the 19th century when slaves were still the major trading commodity, well before France systematically ruled the countryside. From the film's opening, we watch a three-tiered conflict unfolding between Islam, royalty and the *ceddo*—common people or "pagans."

The king, a Muslim convert, is challenged on the one hand by

## Banned because it was spelled with two "d's."

the ambitious Imam (religious leader) and on the other by the rebellious *ceddo* who, dissatisfied with their ruler's impotence, have kidnapped the princess. The Imam undercuts both adversaries by altering the matrilineal system, thereby disenfranchising the rightful heir and, later, assassinating the king.

As the Imam sits quietly on his dais, surrounded by disciples, the traditional ruling group is played off against the *ceddo*. By the end of the picture, the Imam is supreme and declares a holy war, "jihad," against the pagans. The *ceddos'* settlement is burned to the ground and all are forced to submit to Islam. But Sembene does not leave us with Africans prostrate before Allah.

There is a rebellion in the end, but a curious sort of rebellion. The *ceddo* do not rise up against the new Muslim order. Rather, Princess Dior, fortuitously rescued at the last moment, slays the Imam, more to avenge her father's death than in solidarity with the oppressed. This is a reactionary revolt: royalty is restored, and the masses, released from the service of Allah, still cower in their loincloths.

Indeed, the whole of *Ceddo* unwinds with a kind of regal lethargy. The prime actors are, throughout, the elite. The *ceddo* are almost always hovering in the background or deadlocked in council, paralyzed and divided by their plight. Though at one level, Sembene has made a dev-

astating critique of the 19th century ruling order, he dignifies it in the process.

In the movie's first frames, Princess Dior, stripped to the waist, bathes luxuriously in a serene inlet. She is the archetypal goddess in captivity: her liberation is the masses' redemption. The portrait of the king, broken and somber, is likewise less condemning than sympathetic.

The young heirs to the crown strut around the throne in colorful garb, making valiant speeches rich with metaphor and proverbial truth. Chivalry and honor resound as the film's most salient themes. Only the Imam is unequivocally a villain.

Sembene's polemic against Islamic imperialism was apparently poignant enough to incite censorship in predominantly Muslim Senegal. The Senegalese government banned the film on the "ground" that *ceddo* is spelled with one, not two "d's"!

*Ceddo* has recently opened in the U.S. and will probably circulate widely. But its maker cares little for international recognition. This, like all his films, is written in an African language (Wolof, which is Senegal's *lingua franca*) because he addresses an African audience.

It is an issue of some importance that although *Ceddo* may be discussed, debated and admired abroad, Sembene's own countrypeople are denied access to the work and vision of one of their most talented and outspoken artists.

—Mac Margolis  
Mac Margolis works in the African section of the Intercultural Studies Program at Trinity College in Hartford and recently attended a conference in Senegal.

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## ART

# Who establishes the establishment in American art?

## AN ANTI-CATALOG

By the Catalog Committee of Artists Meeting for Cultural Change, 1977

In April 1976, the *Smithsonian* magazine's cover story was on John D. Rockefeller 3rd's private collection of American art which was to go on exhibit for the first time that fall as part of the Whitney Museum's bicentennial celebration. The *Smithsonian* cover showed John D. III standing and his wife sitting in front of a valuable John Copley portrait from their collection. As the Rockefellers sat for their own portrait, the message to the American public was clear: if Copley were alive today, he would be painting their portraits. These are the rightful heirs of tradition, of wealth, and of status.

The calm satisfaction projected by the Rockefellers was not shared by all segments of the art world. To many artists in New York, it was an outrage that "the major bicentennial exhibit" at the Whitney would be chosen not by a process of healthy de-

bate but by the artistic—and political—biases of the Rockefeller family.

In September 1975, long before the exhibition was scheduled to open, three groups—the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, Women's Art Registry, and Artists and Writers Protest—joined together to ask the Director of the Whitney Museum to reconsider. They argued that the Rockefeller collection "could not possibly include the various facets of American art bicentennial celebration should encompass: art of dissent, art by minorities, and adequate representation of art by women." Director Thomas Armstrong refused to negotiate.

The protesting artists then formed Artists Meeting for Cultural Change, a group that has gathered weekly for over two years. One result was a series of protests outside the museum. Another was the *Anti-catalog*.

The work of 19 different contributors, the *Anti-catalog* is an attempt to analyze the biases of "official culture" as revealed in the Rockefeller collection. The approach is varied, lively and



Guests arriving at the opening of the Whitney Museum Bicentennial show pass picketing artists.

compelling. Several of the chapters examine what is missing from the collection: there are no paintings by Hispanic or Native Americans, only one woman and one black are represented. Other essays consider the paintings that are included: portraits of those wealthy enough to commission and pay for a sitting, women who are idealized as at-home ladies or as beauty incarnate.

Through its many short essays, each covering a different issue, the *Anti-catalog* creates a convincing critique of the myth that art history is politically neutral. It examines the Rockefeller collection as a reflection of the ruling elite's version of American art and history. As the authors put it, "...we see a genteel, placid America, a United States made

up mostly of great and wealthy men, picturesque country and frontier folk, and idyllic landscapes... The exhibition obscures any view of a history made in conflict and a country built by great numbers of laboring people."

Nor do the authors limit themselves to an analysis of the content of the exhibition. They also discuss the political and social significance of "cultural philanthropy." How do we remember Andrew Carnegie today? As the ruthless steel baron, master of the lock-out? Or as the kindly old man who established libraries across the country and actively supported institutions of higher education? The wealthy know the value of philanthropy. A 1970 Gallup poll revealed that

the Rockefeller family enjoy a very positive public image—due primarily to their very visible philanthropic efforts.

The *Anti-catalog* is an angry, document. Yet the authors have consciously framed that anger in reasoned and careful artistic and political analysis. It is not a simple polemic. It is a well-planned—and well-executed—collection of essays. Conclusions are backed up by pictorial evidence or by relevant quotations. If used properly, the *Anti-catalog* is a learning tool, a self-directed course in American art history, political history, and their interrelation. The reader is asked to react not simply with outrage but rather with the development of a critical "new way of seeing," "a new way of being in the world."

This book is the first attempt by this group, but others are planned. As Rudolf Baranik, one of the authors, explains, "The book was triggered by the show. But our purpose is to go beyond the Rockefeller show itself and to create an ongoing research investigation into official culture. We hope to anti-catalog whatever has been catalogued wrong."

If the subsequent volumes are as instructive as this, it will be a worthy and important undertaking.

—Richard Kazis  
*An Anti-catalog is available from Artists Meeting for Social Change, at 106 E. 19th St., New York, NY 10003, for \$3.50 plus 50¢ for postage and handling. Richard Kazis is the editor of Self-Reliance, published by the Institute for Local Self-Reliance in Washington, DC.*

## CLASSIFIED

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**CHILE: FROM DICTATORSHIP TO SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.** An address by Anselmo Sule, President of the Chilean Radical Party, formerly a leader of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government. Friday, April 14, 8 p.m., 2 W. 64th St., NYC. Sponsored by Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Free.

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**CAPITAL DISTRICT ITT** will sponsor a forum on "Labor Law Reform and Organizing in the South" at 8 p.m. Wed., April 19, at the Friends Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave., Albany. Speaker: Sam Hersh, J.P. Stevens boycott organizer. Free—refreshments served.

**SOUTHERN AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE AND AID FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA** has books and info., e.g.: Women Under Apartheid, Soweto, Zimbabwe: The Facts, Poets to the People. Also FOCUS, journal on political repression. Write Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138.

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### PERSONALS

**CORRESPONDENCE WANTED—**I am a prisoner at the James River Correctional Center, State Farm, Va. Arthur Shelton 106334, JRCC Infirmary, State Farm, VA 23160

**WOMAN BORN SEPT. 10** or thereabout, in her thirties, sought by male born March 10, 39, scientist, writer, producer, for the real thing: true love, marriage. Please write, enclosing picture. J. Friendly, 203 West 107, NYC 10025.

**I AM PLANNING** to write some political reminiscences about The Shelter Half Coffee House. I hope that some of the GIs who passed through there in 1969-1971 will get in touch. Trust me, I won't treat you like Loose Change. Write to Barbara Garson at In These Times.

**OUR EYES MET** outside the Film Forum (the Chile film). I was wearing yellow boots and an orange poncho. You were selling IN THESE TIMES. It was just a glance and a smile (I was with someone else.) But if it meant something to you too, write to Stephanie, Box 6, In These Times.

**VICKIE DEAR**, thanks for the subscription. Daddy and I have been reading your newspaper and are quite impressed by its seriousness. Daddy thinks it might be nice for you to bring your good friend Jenny home with you this summer. We can change too—but slowly. Please don't be afraid to get in touch.—Mother.

**O.K. ROBIN**, you're right. The Democratic party is a cop out and a trap. But our relationship isn't. Please come back—Noel.



# MALVINA REYNOLDS

1901 - 1978

*"Some sort of miracle"*



Pete Seeger has called her "some sort of miracle."

According to legend, the miracle happened in the early 1950s when, out of a ragged-looking chrysalis called the Old Left, there emerged a beautiful writer and singer of songs named Malvina Reynolds.

In those days the appearance of a new songmonger was no rare phenomenon, let alone a miracle, but Malvina was different. She was a late bloomer, being then in her 50s and violating the convention that to enter her chosen field you had to have youth, as well as a guitar.

That she overcame the odds of geriatrics and the politics of the '50s is part of the miracle. Soon she also overcame the generational barrier, captivating mostly young audiences at the mass protest rallies and demonstrations of the 1960s. The miracle grew.

By the time of her death on St. Patrick's Day, 1978, at age 77, Malvina had performed (in person or via TV) all over the U.S. and in countries as far apart as Finland and Japan. She was a cultural/political figure of world stature, a folk heroine, admired and beloved by a mass constituency.

A couple of years ago, irritated by a kind of social embalming that prettifies the radical dead, she wrote her own epitaph. She wanted to be remembered as "a workingclass woman, and a red." Her perception of self imparts a special significance to some facts and associations:

- birth in a red household and a working class district; her speech always retained a certain twang and cadence of San Francisco's South-of-Market where she first learned to speak.

- piano lessons as a child; her first piano teacher was Rena Mooney, wife of Tom, militant socialist and union organizer who became the principal in one of

the most celebrated labor/political cases of the century.

- diploma-less departure from Lowell High School; although she was an honors student, she was punished for the outspoken opposition to World War I of her socialist parents, Dave and Liz Milder.

Her academic career at the University of California becomes significant, not only for its scholastic brilliance (she received her Phi Beta Kappa pin in her junior year), but also for the hiatus between the M.A. degree in 1927 and the Ph.D. in 1939. During the intervening 12 years, which were mostly years of the Great Depression, she was a red soapboxer at the "University by the Sea," traditional free speech enclave in Long Beach, Calif., where the Milder family then resided.

She was in the family home late one autumn night in 1932 when a cross burned outside and 30 violent KKK invaders were inside. There had been a semi-public meeting in the house to muster support for the nine young black defendants in the Scottsboro (Ala.) rape frameup case. The Klansmen were going to take Malvina's father, brother Sam and brother-in-law Ben Dobbs "for a ride" to teach them the impropriety of their activity.

Malvina and the three men fought the intruders, but they were outnumbered, beaten and overpowered. The men were tied and dragged into waiting autos. Just then the cop on the beat came by and frustrated the abduction.

Malvina married William "Bud" Reynolds, carpenter, World War I draft resister, organizer of the unemployed in Detroit, and the two went off to Omaha, Neb., where he served as the Communist organizer, which meant economic hardship, some danger, much tension, along with the satisfaction of doing

something to which you were totally committed.

When Malvina gave birth to her only child, Nancy, the couple could not resolve the economic contradiction between being a Communist organizer in Omaha and raising a child. They moved to Berkeley. Bud went to work at his trade and Malvina returned to the campus to complete the work on her doctorate in romance philology.

Her dissertation was on "The Tradition of Amis e Amiloun" (the reference is to an Anglo-Norman poem about two knights). This esoteric preoccupation might seem bizarre or paradoxical for the wife of the recent Communist organizer in Omaha, but it, too, is an integral element of the miracle. The working class and red experiences were joined with a broader range of culture, which she never flaunted, but which was always there just the same.

Add to the above experience as a steel worker, a tailor (her father's trade), teacher, social worker and editor. It all helps explain how she acquired the mature wisdom that honed her lyrics.

I am old enough to realize how hard it is to combine and manage so much, and I know no one who did it so well as Malvina. How did she do it? If everything were readily explicable, there wouldn't be any miracle.

There is mystery, but also some clues.

For example, I would not attempt to catalogue all the issues, causes, aspirations, foibles, phenomena, atrocities, absurdities, tragedies, comedies and ordinary events she dealt with in her lyrics. Their number seemed to be almost as great as the number of songs she wrote, somewhere between 500 and 600. Their volume and variety attest to the extraordinary range of her interests, but even more, to the reach of her human compassion and empathy. She was ironic or witty, tender or

playful, or something else, depending on the particular theme. Audiences responded to the craft skills of the lyricist, composer and performer. But at her best she created a communion that was nourished by deeper well-springs of reciprocal empathy. At such moments one saw the performer, not only as entertainer, but also as prophet. This might be the vital clue to the mystery of the miracle that was Malvina.

Her administrative assistant and close co-worker for many years, Ruth Bernstein, says that one of the qualities she found most attractive in Malvina was her optimism. I have thought about this. It is manifestly true: her life-loving vitality, her fantastic energy would be inconceivable without the energizing force of optimism. As she and others of her generation learned long ago, a pessimistic revolutionary is a contradiction in terms.

And yet she could tell an interviewer, "These times are terrifying. I find the basis of civilization torn apart by people who don't know what the hell they're doing." That sounds hardly optimistic, and many similar lines cropped up in her lyrics. Hers was not a one-dimensional optimism but the rare and wonderful optimism that confronts reality as it is, that does not lean on self-deception or feed on fatalistic faith, and is the stronger and wiser for that. It was, in Romain Rolland's phrase, an optimism of will that is tempered by a pessimism of reason.

In the end one reverts to the question: Who was that white-haired woman in front of the microphone with a guitar and jaunty smile, who wrote and sang all those songs, who did all those things, who had all those unique qualities and attributes? There is no better answer than Malvina's: she was a working class woman and a red.

—Al Richmond



**RENALDO & CLARA**

Written and directed by Bob Dylan  
With Joan Baez, Bob Dylan and Sara  
Dylan  
Produced by Lombard Street Films, Inc.

Bob Dylan was shocked when he saw *Don't Look Back*, the Pennebaker-Leacock cinema-verite documentary of his 1966 European tour. "The movie was dishonest," Dylan says in a recent *Playboy* interview, "it was a propaganda movie" that "made it seem like I wasn't doing anything but living in hotel rooms, playing the typewriter and holding press conferences for journalists."

Ten years later Dylan launched his exuberant traveling revue, *Rolling Thunder*. "Tour" would be too tame a word to describe a series of rollicking concerts that for many of its participants, including Allen Ginsberg, had messianic overtones. Dylan and other people in the revue (Joan Baez, Roger McGuinn, Jack Elliott, Mick Ronson, Rob Stoner, Ronee Blakley, Joni Mitchell, Bobby Newirth, many more) didn't just "live in hotel rooms," etc.; they also paid their respects at Jack Kerouac's grave, dropped in on a Native American supper meeting, performed for Reuben "Hurricane" Carter and his fellow inmates at a New Jersey prison, put out an in-house newspaper, visited an old Italian lady who treated them to some folk-pop *bel canto* and read Dylan's palm, chatted with school kids and fooled around a lot.

If you want to see some of this, you're lucky, because they also made a home movie of it. But it's not just any old home movie. It's very long—almost four hours. It has an important *auteur* (the credits conclude with "A Film by Bob Dylan"). And like many of the most Difficult *auteurs* Dylan has given us a Journey that is Non-Linear and can be understood, as reality itself, On Many Different Levels, even as it demonstrates the problem of Illusion and Reality. The *auteur* also plays Renaldo, while his ex-wife plays Clara, and Joan Baez plays, among several roles, the Woman in White with Red Carnation.

On the other hand, it's just like a home movie in that it's often out of focus, the hand-held camera sometimes gets you dizzy, it's hard to hear the dialogue, and if you are not a friend, relative, or groupie you will probably find it boring.

But listen: forget the pretentiousness, egotism, and arrogance involved in the whole endeavor. (Over the years a lot of Dylan exaltation has gone on. A review of *Renaldo & Clara* in New York's *Soho News* begins, "Given the fact that Bob Dylan is probably God..." This sort of thing is bound to go to your head.) It's naivete more than anything else. Deep inside the mythic Dylan is always the kid from Minnesota wanting to make it big in New York.

To make a film, to have it open at three New York theaters, to have people buzzing about its puzzles and complexities, now that's class, that's almost High Culture. For Dylan it completes a cycle beginning with his trek to New York in the early '60s to imbibe the "cosmopolitan riches of the mind." He is trying to paint a masterpiece with a celluloid palette.

*Renaldo & Clara* opens with an eerie Dylan, in a mask of clear plastic, the camera angled at low left, singing "When I

# God makes a home movie

Illustrations by Tom Greensfelder



**"I'll tell you what my film is about: it's about naked alienation of the inner self against the outer self—alienation taken to the extreme. And it's about integrity."**

Paint My Masterpiece." But it's the wrong brush he's using; he doesn't have the control or technique for highlight and nuance. Instead of *Tempera & Clarity* we get scrambled eggs and jive talk.

## Ad libbed exasperation.

Jive talk is a way of filling up the silence after an analyst's question. It's what Socrates got when he thought he could find wisdom by asking the artist. It's what old jazz performers gave their high-brow interlocutors when asked to comment on their art. It's what Dylan has been giving his interviewers for years. (Take a look at Dylan's most recent *Rolling Stone* interview conducted by Jonathan Cott—a non-dialogue between erudition and jive talk.) It's a way of masking naivete with cool. Or a way of saying, "I don't know," but making it sound sly and sophisticated. It's wanting to play when others demand you be serious. And it sometimes complicates relationships between lovers.

*Clara*: Has he always been like that?  
*Woman in White*: Ten years I've known him.

*Clara*: Has he ever given you a straight answer?

*Woman in White*: Not to my recollection.

*Renaldo*: I'm a brother to you both.

*Woman in White*: That way, you'll never have to make a decision as long as you live.



**"We don't really know who Renaldo is. We just know what he is not. He isn't the Masked Tortilla."**

Did Dylan, self-aware, write those lines, or were these women who know him well ad libbing their exasperation?

In his musical art Dylan has never exasperated his listeners; he has consistently astonished them with bursts of strong images delivered through changing rhythmic and melodic styles. Jive talk set to music comes out as tone poetry. Dylan's folk-rock poetics hit the bull's-eye again and again in the '60s. His songs, even some of the political ones, were expressions of intuition, not analysis; they asked you to feel their meaning. (Dylan's politics: more naivete.) Heard through the haze of grass and acid, they were anthems of '60s sensibility.

Starting from a different place and moving along a slightly different route, John Lennon and the later Beatles explored similar regions along the farther frontiers of pop. (Curiously, the Beatles, too, wanted to make their own film. Their work, *Magical Mystery Tour*, was a more wacky fantasy-satire than *Renaldo & Clara*, but more accessible, in the charming Beatles manner. Like Dylan's effort, the film was dismissed as a pretentious mistake.)

Dylan is one of the very few great and authentic pop personas of the epoch to have survived into the '70s. In *Renaldo & Clara* he proves again, as a critic put it a couple of years ago, that the Bob Dylan of the '70s is Bob Dylan. The musical sequences are electrifying documents of what happened on stage during the *Rolling Thunder Revue*. On stage Dylan is transformed: He is no longer the somewhat reticent and self-conscious figure with a soft, thin voice in mid-western



**"Where are the people to understand this film—a film which needs no understanding?"**

Quotations from Jonathan Cott's interview with Bob Dylan in *Rolling Stone*.

accents that the camera reveals in other parts of the film.

He wears a *Pat Garret & Billy the Kid* hat banded with fresh flowers, a vest and hobo's scarf, his face covered with white grease-paint—a folk-rock *pagliaccio*. His eyes look nowhere, while all other eyes on stage around Dylan are fixed on him. When Ronnee Blakley accompanies him on the choruses to "Just Like a Woman," her pained, riveted gaze makes you feel the song was written for her.

Dylan's stage presence is a rare alloy of blazing intensity and enormous cool. It's very distant and strange, almost angry, but very powerful. The pitch of it is unvarying, whether he does tender songs like "Sara" and "It Ain't Me Babe" or allegories like "Isis." Also in the film are memorable versions of "Tangled Up in Blue," performed solo by Dylan with acoustic guitar, and "Knocking on Heaven's Door," with luminous breaks by Roger McGuinn.

After some of these songs, people in the movie audience broke into applause. Most of the time, though, I think they shuffled their feet in tedium. In spite of the ambitions of a new generation of performers in our pop culture (can you imagine Frank Sinatra, Little Richard or Pete Seeger making a film like this?), it's still the music that's the thing. If you were fortunate enough to see *Rolling Thunder* in the flesh, or unfortunately missed it, go see *Renaldo & Clara* for the music. ■

Louis Menashe writes regularly on Soviet affairs for *IN THESE TIMES*.